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UBILEE HISTORY
OF THE
• DERBY •
OPERATIVE PROVIDENT SOCIETY LTD

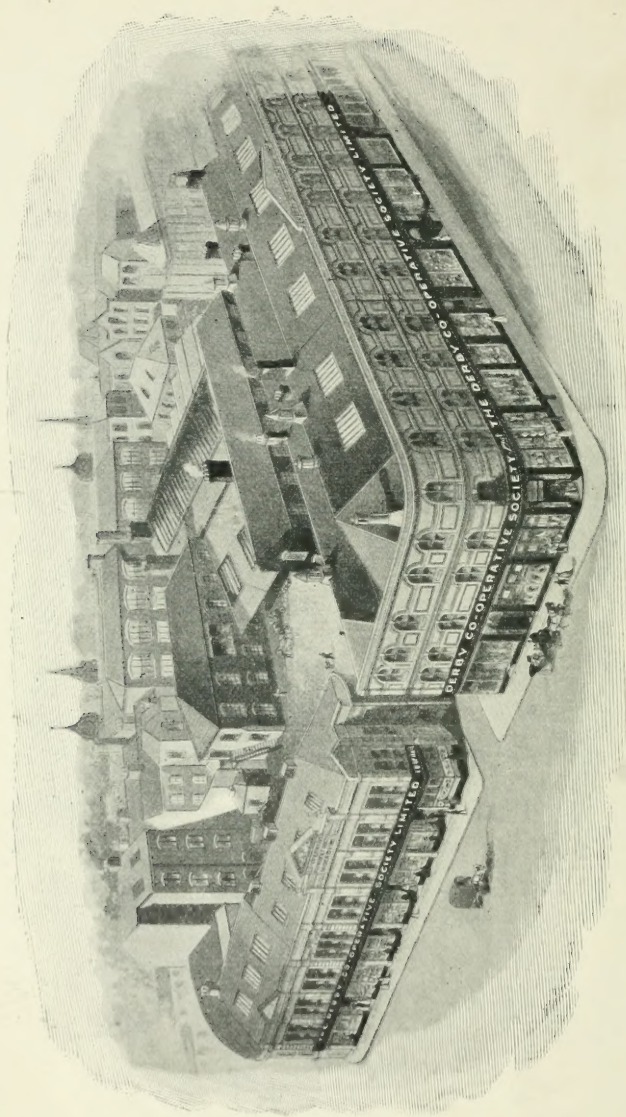


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BY
George Jacob Holyoake
AND
• Amos Scott •



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CENTRAL PREMISES, ALBERT STREET AND EXCHANGE STREET.

THE
JUBILEE HISTORY



OF THE

❖ DERBY ❖

CO-OPERATIVE PROVIDENT SOCIETY

LIMITED,

1850—1900.

BY

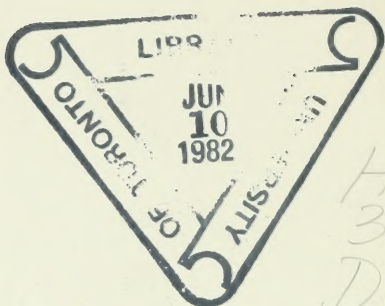
George Jacob Holyoake and Amos Scotton.



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PREFACE.

THERE is no more picturesque and encouraging history of co-operative self-help anywhere than that of the Derby Society—the third which has attained the distinction of a Jubilee. Rochdale had the distinction of being its precursor and of initiating new principles of progress, before unknown or unapplied, but Derby has excelled it in surmounting greater difficulties. Rochdale had twenty-eight pioneers. The Derby Society was founded by twelve. Rochdale had £28 of capital, Derby had only £2. Derby had no experienced advisers at the beginning, as Leeds had, to counsel it, assist it, and defend it. Derby shares profits with employé's, in which respect it stands higher than Rochdale or Leeds.

The Derby Society was founded by workmen uninformed and unfriended. It was not until after ten years of patience, courage, obscurity, and persistence, that they were reinforced by men of their own order, of more knowledge and resource, who carried the society forward to the success recounted in the following pages.

Mr. A. Scotton and I have written this History—without him it could not possess its coherence, nor incidents of narrative which it is hoped may beguile the reader to peruse the story.

For forty years he has served the Derby Society in every capacity, official and representative. He has been its Boswell, and was for sixteen years the editor of its *Monthly Record*, which is still published. He is known throughout the movement as an able and genial leader, steadfast to its original principles. Important facts have been contributed by him, and many passages in what follows will be recognised as his, though it is fitting that another hand should record his part in building up the Derby Co-operative Provident Society. Many others hereinafter named have contributed in no mean degree to the same end.

Our aim in this book has been to record what may be informing to the public, and create respect for the co-operative cause—what may be instructive to members, increase their pride in the movement to which they belong, and incite them and enable them to advance, yet more efficiently, their own interests.

G. J. H.

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The Town of Derby.

CHAPTER I.

NOT all local readers have the past of the town in their minds, familiar as they may be with the daily aspects amid which they live. But readers elsewhere, into whose hands this narrative may come, will be curious to know what kind of place Derby is, in which so remarkable a store, as that of which we write, has sprung up in the last half of the nineteenth century. Some account of the town is therefore inseparable from a history of the store.

Fifty years ago no one looked for special enterprise among the working class of Derby—nor as for that no expectation ran high with regard to any class in it. Derby was believed to be a quiet, respectable town of some antiquity, not much in the minds of men outside the Midlands. It was probably the most stationary town in England. It had little initiation, nor any wish for it.

True, the silk trade and china manufacture had their birthplace in it, which implied the existence of skill among the industrious classes—but progress was torpid as a python, half its time. Hutton, its notable native historian, relates that so late as 1738 an inhabitant of the town made a safe wager that “he could not find a single house erected on a new foundation

within 100 years." The stranger lost the wager. Stationariness in industrial enterprise, and in mind, go together.

Lying on the highway between London and the North, Derby, like the Alma, was always "to wandering travellers known" if not to the general public. The invader knew it. The Romans knew it—they knew every place which had a strategical position. Their policy was to make a road *by* a town and never *through* it—so the "Roman Road" ran by Derby, like the Derwent. The town was a Royal Borough in the days of Edward the Confessor, who did nothing but confess, and died 1066. Money was coined in Derby during several reigns. This shows mechanical skill, civic influence, and importance—but not the character of onwardness.

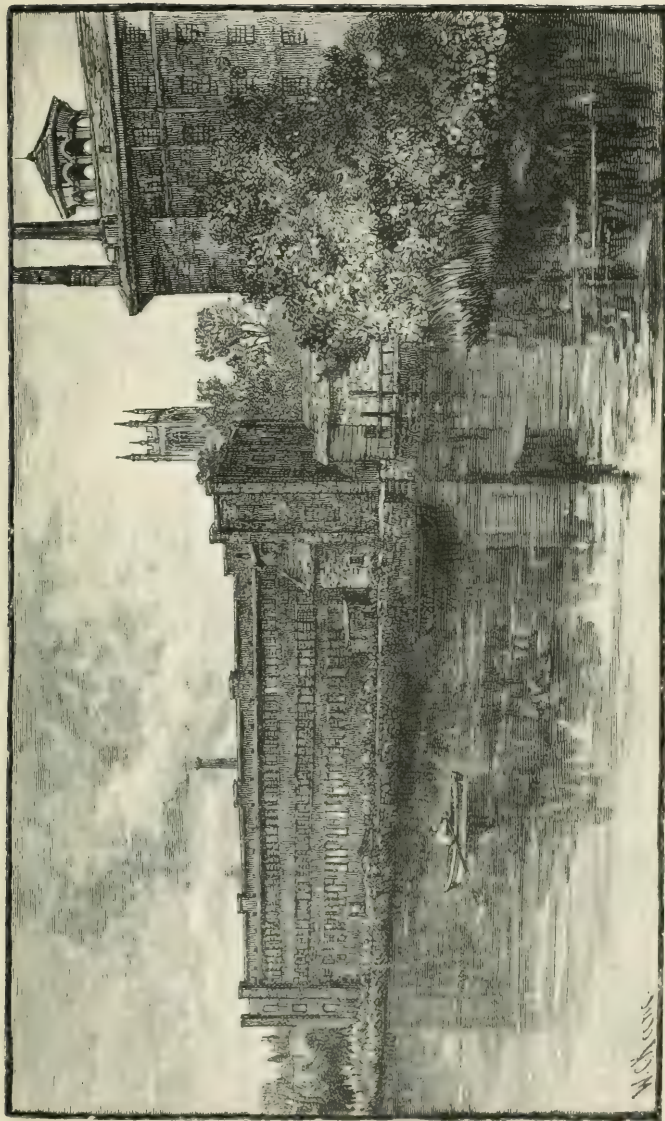
Insularity and preference for isolation of mind were characteristics of Derby, it cared nothing for outside thought as is seen in the charter, which the inhabitants obtained, by their own solicitations, from Richard I. which gave them the power of expelling every Jew who resided in the town, or ever after should approach it. Centuries later, in the reign of Queen Anne and George I. not a Roman Catholic, an Independent, a Baptist, an Israelite, nor even a harmless Quaker could be found in Derby.

It is well there was no Midland Railway in those days or this charter had given Mr. George H. Turner, the general manager, trouble. There must have been a Theological Committee sitting permanently, to see that no Muggletonian or Christadelphian crept into the town. The Railway is a force on the side of toleration. It carries Jew or Catholic without scruple or compunction. It will even elect a Quaker as chairman, if he has good business capacity.

Let us hope that the people of Derby, in the days of their charter of exclusion, had good light within their town since they set their faces against having any light from without.

No wonder narrowness of ideas prevailed. It was seen in the narrowness of the streets. Iron Gate, Sadler Gate, and other thoroughfares were emblematic of the confined outlook of the inhabitants. The channel streets were never used by carriages. Indeed there was no room for carriages or for ideas to turn round in them. Wider thoroughfares—intentionally made so—are signs of larger information and a wider outlook.

The only recorded instance of independent thought in those days, was that of an humble Derby girl who was born blind yet



THE OLD SILK MILL, DERBY; FIRST SILK MILL IN ENGLAND.

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could see, like others, into the nature of things. She doubted the Real Presence. What could it matter what the helpless thing thought of that? and the town burned her alive. The poor brave girl was only 22 years old. There is no town or city, within a hundred miles of Derby, which has the distinction of possessing one of the humbler class of like heroism of understanding. It is not often that a town has a philosopher in it, whose convictions are thus torment proof.

Another instance of the vitality of thought among the working class of Derby, was William Hutton the unrivalled historian of the town, who still remains among Derby authors unsurpassed for veracity, sagacity, and capacity. Hutton was a native of the town, who served two apprenticeships at the old silk mill, of seven years each, like Jacob, without being like him rewarded with Rachel. All Hutton obtained was great hardship and poor wages. He wandered to Birmingham, became a paper dealer, and wrote a history of that town which is still held in respect. He wrote a book on the Court of Requests of which he was a member. The Chambers Brothers reprinted it, as a remarkable example of natural logic applied to the solution of the disputatious cases of daily life. Hutton's "History of Derby" exhibits his honourable pride in the town of his nativity. The wisdom of his opinions were a century in advance of the time in which he wrote. No wonder a town producing such an instance of vigorous reason and historic genius as Hutton displayed, should eventually furnish impassable co-operators.

The somnolent white cactus is said to bloom but once in a 100 years.* But dilatory Derby, a burgh through which Saxon Kings marched, took 1,000 years to bloom in. The Derby cactus did not expand its leaves until the advent of the year 1800. In 1790 the population was less than 9,000. In 1834 it had reached 24,000, and in 1871 it amounted to 49,000. Soon after the boundaries were expanded, and the Midland Time Tables publish the population this year (1900) at 100,000, an increase of 90,000 in the century.

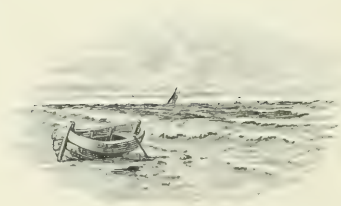
Mr. Scotton in the Congress Guide Book (1884) says that Defoe's description of Derby as "a town of gentry rather than

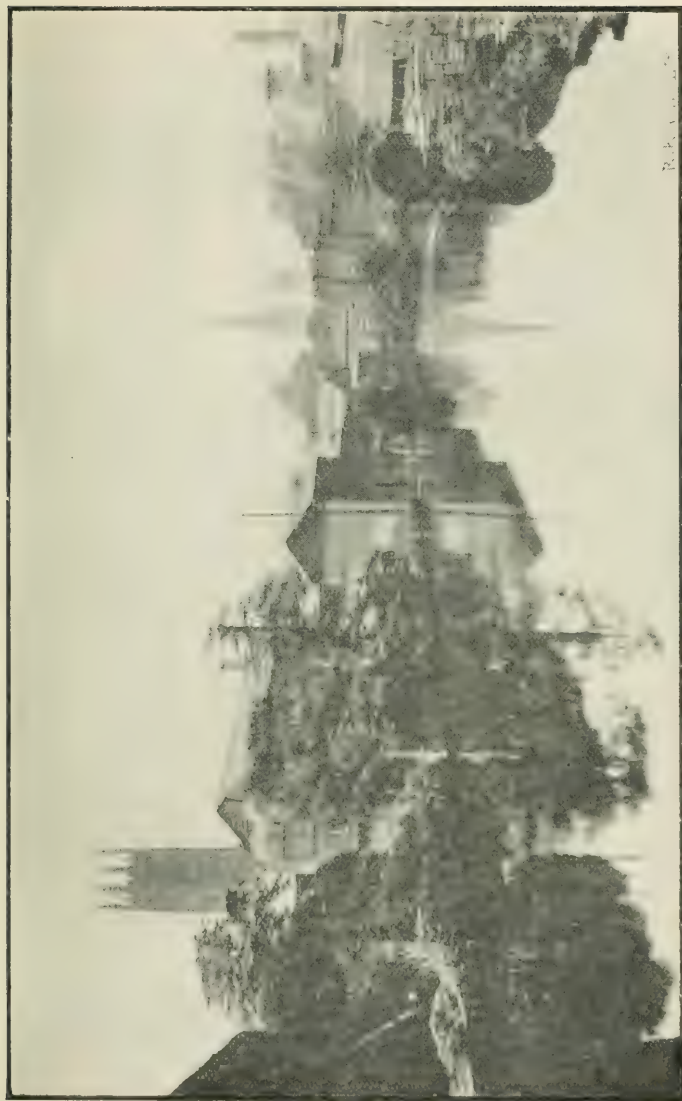
*The writer witnessed one bloom at midnight in its 100th year in Lord Monson's Vinery, as predicted in the records of the House. The family came down to see it.

of trade " was true in Defoe's time. Derby is now a town of commerce rather than gentry, who happily continue though their proportion has changed.

Derby* in its sleepy way has had a distinguished past if regard be had to its royal visitors and illustrious families, as that of the Earls of Derby who sprung from this town. But the repute of Derby is now commercial. It has taken its place in the front rank of civilisation. Its future is that of opulence and industry, and one of the signs is—the rise and progress of Co-operative Stores, which have become an historic feature of the place.

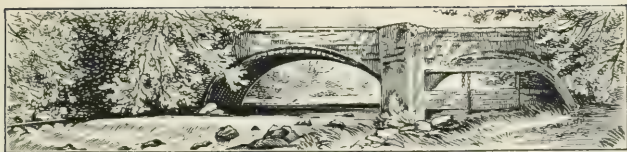
*Earl Derby is called Earl Darby. The pronunciation of a name is ruled by custom. I asked Mr. George H. Turner, the general manager of the Midland Railway, whose experience makes him an authority, if the town of Derby was by custom called "Darby?" He said "Yes." The name of a family is its own usage. Majoribanks is *Marchbanks*. Cholmondley is pronounced *Chumley*. As the Frenchman said, "It is easy to learn English if you write it as it is *not* spoken and speak it as it is *not* written."





DERBY, FROM EXETER BRIDGE.

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The Co-operative Store.

CHAPTER II.

NO Co-operative Society in England has had a more romantic and unpromising origin than that of Derby, whose history these pages record.

The Derby Co-operative Society is the third society of the Rochdale type which has celebrated its jubilee in the nineteenth century, thus furnishing another irrefutable answer to all who treated co-operation as a dream, as a utopian aspiration, as an hysterical craze to which those who labour are especially subject. In this case the hysteria has been on the part of the convulsive prophets, who were incapable of foreseeing the capacity which lay latent in the industrious classes. It was said that with their diversity of view, prejudices, jealousies, and other unfitnesses, they could never be got to act together, and if they should do so it would not be for long, as they would never hold together. It was predicted that if a sensible object was put before them they would not understand it, and if they did they would not like it. By what strange, slow, and precarious steps the great success of this society has been reached few of the general public know, and many members who have joined in later years may be surprised to learn. The enterprise of self-help and mutual help—for both go together in co-operation—which commenced in all sorts of doubtfulness, has continued with decision for fifty years.

Continuity is distinction which only time confers. It means English persistence, which is the source of success in peace as in war. In this case of the store it is meritorious, because it has been evinced under difficulties of a very

deterrent kind. It commenced in Derby in 1850, and has been growing day and night ever since

Half a century ago there were numerous prophets in England who professed to foretell every new thing notable. Yet no Zadkiel foretold the Co-operative Store in Derby, in Rochdale, or Leeds. Yet they were all as remarkable as new comets. "Old Moore," whom everybody thought all-telling, never mentioned them in his almanac. These stores have made the fortunes of thousands and thousands of penniless people; yet no wandering fortune teller ever thought to turn an honest shilling by reading the signs of them in the palms of toiling hands, where the fortunes all lay. The astrologer knew nothing of what was to happen in the industrial heavens. The zodiac contained no sign of it, and the stars were all silent. The rise of co-operation quite escaped the notice of the stellar prophets.

The three great changes in the fortunes of the working people are (1) from slave to serf; (2) from serf to hireling; (3) from hireling to partner—all most momentous in the history of the vast race who labour. It is co-operation alone that promises to convert the hireling into a self-acting man, and establish permanent betterment by superseding hirelingism by the dignity of partnership. With or without "signs and portents" heralding this new order of life—it is appearing.

Co-operation means acting with others in enterprises of trade or labour, in which the profits arising in the store or workshop, shall be equitably divided among those who create them by skill of hand, or skill of brain.

A Co-operative Society is a voluntary association and it acts by reason, not by force. Its members depend upon themselves, not upon the State. Its aim is the advantage of each, consistent with the good of others. This care for the good of others is the essential thing which distinguishes co-operation from common trade and commerce. This principle carries a million moralities in its train. It puts public progress on a new path. It means co-operating to live, instead of competing to destroy. Care for others implies tolerance—for if co-operation does not include it, association may die of dislike.

Not all at once are all the consequences of the co-operative term understood. Co-operation inspires fraternity. If frater-

nity is not a virtue, it becomes a necessity. It is not only a grace, but an obligation. There must be goodwill—for persons with illwill in their hearts will not act with one another. The profit of co-operation depends upon numbers. Few can gain but little, many can gain much. Thus the conditions of profit teach conciliation, and conciliation is impossible without justice to others, which is the highest attribute of the moral nature.

It has been mentioned that the Derby Store is of the "Rochdale type." Many readers of the outside public, will not know what this means.

The chief feature of "Rochdale Co-operation" is that the profits of the store are paid to the purchaser. Five per cent is allotted to paid-up shares. Reserve funds are set aside for the security of the society, which ends in all property and buildings being owned by the members. There is also an Education and Recreation Fund, whose object is to secure intelligent and pleasant membership. All goods are paid for on purchase which saves clerkage, prevents loss by bad debts, and teaches working people a dislike of indebtedness—which the middle class have not acquired very largely.

Besides, Stores on Rochdale lines are pledged not only to honesty in measure, but to purity in all commodities—important to the poor, to whom family sickness is serious. "Disease" says the Indian proverb, "enters by the mouth."

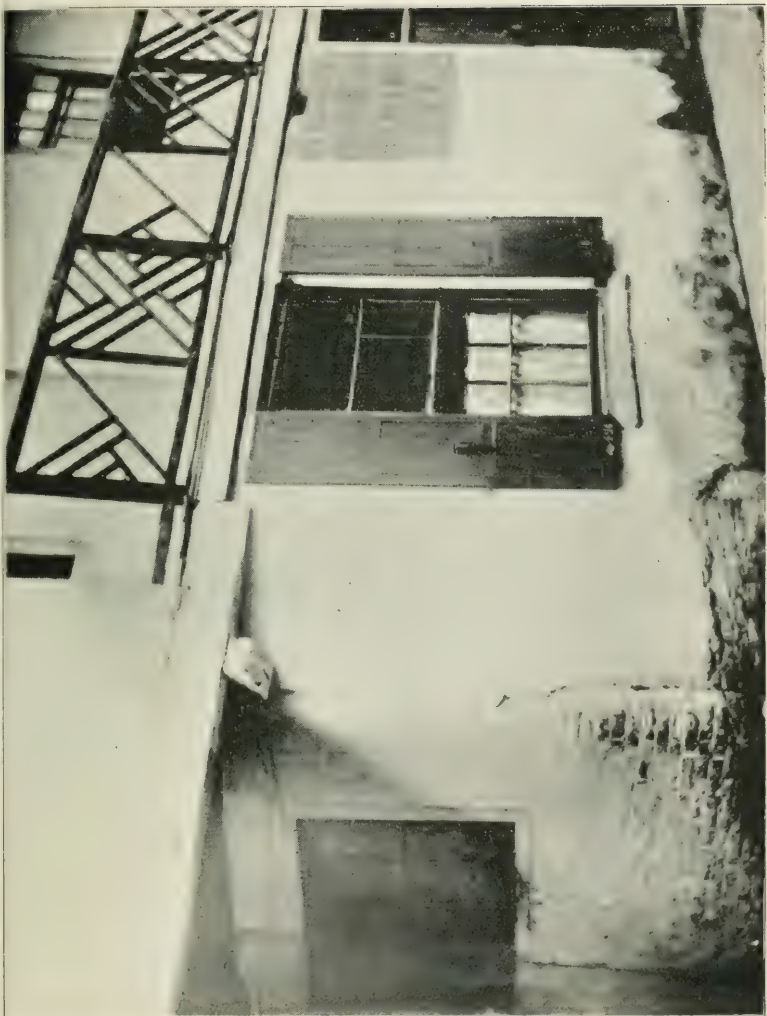
The profit made by purchases varies from 1s. to 2s. 6d. in the pound, and is determined by the number of members, which may be few or many. Profit in excess of trade union wages, is given in the workshops as well as in the store, as is done in the great Woolwich store. These profits, allowed to accumulate, constitute a Profit Bank, from which members draw money out who never put anything in, seeing that they pay no more for their provisions than the market price, and can depend upon them being genuine, and free from adulteration. By charging the market price for what is sold, these stores do not undersell shopkeepers—thus maintaining amity, which is the very principle of co-operation. For this reason many persons, not needing the advantage of the store for themselves, become purchasers with a view to encourage their poorer neighbours in efforts of self-help, in knowledge of business, and habits of thrift.

The other kind of co-operation is known as "Civil Service"

or "London Co-operation." There is no membership here, no distribution of profits, not even among purchasers—save in cheapness—in these associations. The profits go to the shareholders, as the business is joint stock, tempered by reduced prices. The co-operative feature is limited to this. The advantage to purchasers is that they have their goods a little cheaper, the cheapness being dissipated in a little larger expenditure, without encouraging frugality. By thus underselling other dealers, this form of co-operation creates irritation among tradesmen which Rochdale Co-operation does not. Besides, these Supply Associations, though the best of them aim at genuineness, are not able to secure it, having no Wholesale Buying Agency pledged to purity and equity, advantages which Rochdale Co-operation provides; nor is there the moral satisfaction that the producers of the goods purchased have an equitable share in the profits of their industry, free from the hateful conditions of sweating, except so far as Supply Associations make (as the best of them do) purchases from Co-operative Productive Associations, in which all workpeople participate in the profits of their own labour. But inasmuch as Supply Associations adopt the rule of ready money payments, they improve the character of their well-to-do customers. The book-debt habit is so common that large London shops have to go into convenient liquidation, as the Receiver in Bankruptcy can collect the debts which the firm could not obtain from their wealthy customers, through the County Court, without risk of offending and losing them.

Such are the differences between working class co-operation on the Rochdale plan, and the Supply Association of the middle class kind. What other advantages come to working people, and to the town, through Co-operative Stores will further appear as this history progresses.





THE FIRST STORE, GEORGE YARD.



The Beginning in George Yard.

CHAPTER III.

THE now imposing Albert Street Store with its 37 branches, was begun by a few capitalless carpenters and joiners in an inconvenient out-of-the way (from the point of view of business) unpromising hayloft in Sadler Gate, 1849-50. Too low in fortune for ambition to reach them, necessity led the early store makers to rent a hayloft only accessible by a rude flight of steps. On the left-hand side of the George Yard entrance may still be seen, bricked up now, the old doorway which led to the primitive store. Underneath it was a stable. On turning the corner into George Yard there is now a public lodging-house, with a balcony in the upper part. That is where the store was.

The George Yard is part of what is known as the "Wide Yard," a long thoroughfare, having the appearance of a little forgotten street with tenements of various aspects and pretension, but being a thoroughfare it was so far favourable for outside custom, had it been sought. The entrance to the George Yard, in which the store doorway stood, is a low-covered passage, short, dark, vacuous, and originally uninteresting save to visitors to the "George," or other contiguous taps—never wanting thereabout.

In the old days there was a real George Hotel which gave its name to the yard. It had an Assembly Room with a frontage of 100 feet in Sadler Gate. In the eighteenth century, balls were held in these rooms which were attended by

"Royalty," as the newspapers say. There is still extant a picture of the famous Scotch Pretender and his army passing through the Iron Gate, the George Hotel being the chief feature in it, the sign of the George hanging out in the street. The door on the right of the George Yard entrance, once led to the taproom of the Inn then known as the Black Boy* and the balcony round the corner, now part of a lodging house, was put up so that the élite might watch the dog fights and other sports of the day in comfort. Fifty years ago the spectator in the balcony would look down upon the less exciting, but more wholesome spectacle, of honest carpenters carrying home purchases from their humble store.

The only living member of the George Yard Store, is Thomas Rushton Brown, of Acton, and the earliest particulars of its formation are derived from his intelligent testimony. After many years' absence he visited Derby again last Christmas, when he and Mr. Scotton verified the premises—occupied at the commencement. In the year 1849 Mr. Brown and other members of the Union of Carpenters and Joiners, mostly in the employ of Mr. Mansfield Cooper, whose workshops were then in St. Mary's Gate, heard of the success of the Rochdale Pioneers.† The news was brought by a wandering tramp to the Carpenters and Joiners' House of Call, which was then at the Bull's Head, Queen Street. It came into the heads of some of these workers in wood, to start a store among themselves on similar Rochdale lines. Derby was as clever as Rochdale. Surely carpenters could do what weavers had done. They conferred with Samuel Smith, a joiner, at the Midland Railway Carriage Works, who ever encouraged them in their purpose.

Jonathan Henderson, the secretary of the Carpenters and Joiners' Society (who afterwards became secretary of the new coterie of Derby Co-operators) wrote to Rochdale for information. It would be William Cooper—the greatest propagandist a store ever had—who would send it to him. "Several of the Derby Joiners" says Mr. Brown, "gave their names and subscribed small amounts." The first committee of ways and

* For the facts pertaining to the earlier history of the George Hotel, I am indebted to Mr. G. W. Wood, builder and engineer, Sadler Gate.

† They were only five years old then but they had already become, it seems, an inspiration to others. They had increased their members from 28 to 280; their capital from £28 to £1,193, and their year's sales from £710 to £6,611; their profits from £32 to £561.



T. R. BROWN.

means was held in his house 56, Abbey Street. After the manner of Rochdale, they elected a committee and these were their names:—

THOMAS RUSHTON BROWN.

GEORGE ALLAN.

JAMES COOPER.

ROBERT RILEY.

THOMAS WHITTLE.

WILLIAM CORNER.

SAMUEL LEAM.

JOHN ASLIN.

JAMES WALKER.

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

JONATHAN HENDERSON, President and Secretary.

SAMUEL SMITH, Treasurer.

These were the Twelve Apostles of Co-operation in Derby. Rochdale had 28 Pioneers, Derby 12. Rochdale began with £28, Derby with £2.

In the George Yard, Sadler Gate, they began their career. They bought second-hand scales and weights, and purchased some flour from Shaw, the miller, in St. Michael's Lane, and a parcel of groceries from Bakewell, a grocer at Market Head. They bought as far as their small means would go. Mr. Brown being the son of a grocer, became their first buyer and shopman. They asked no credit and did not go into debt for stock, which is the honourable co-operative policy.

Their first act of business in the upstairs store was very creditable to them. It was to weigh out a stone of flour, a quarter of a pound of tea, and two pounds of sugar, and make a gift of them to Mrs. Leam, the wife of a sick member. After a time they opened their little night store from 8 to 10 o'clock three times a week.

It was not until the fourth year (1854) that the George Yard Store began to keep any record of their limited transactions, which no doubt were vividly inscribed on their memory. The minute book, when they had one, bore no name or designation, nor did it state any place where the meetings were held—it was not often that the year was given. The proceedings were simply headed "Committee Night"—afterwards "Committee Meeting." Accepting members seems to have been the principal business of the committee.

The committee of management recorded December 4th, 1854, are the following:—

JOHN LEAKE.

EDWARD LITTLEWOOD.

THOMAS BUXTON.

WILLIAM KANE.

HENRY GLOVER.

THOMAS R. BROWN.

HENRY ROBINSON.

The first resolution recorded in 1854, is "That all the members shall serve in the store in their turn, and that anyone failing, and not finding a substitute, shall be fined 1s." It was certainly hard to have to work for nothing and to be fined 1s. for failure in doing it.

At the same time, 1854, it was resolved "That William Griffith make a box to preserve the bacon belonging to the Society—the box to be 5 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 20 inches deep." It would require a much larger box to-day, to hold the bacon of the society. On June 13th, it was ordered "That the sixpenny sugar on sale, be sold at 4½d. per lb. through it being an inferior article, and that the fines of members be stopped out of their dividends." This Draconian society took care that the fines were collected. On June 24th they proposed "to give 2d. a lb. for newspapers provided they were clean."

The first order of importance was sent "to Woodin and Jones for 28 lbs. of best coffee, 1 cask of raw sugar, 56 lbs. of Patna rice, and other commodities." At that time Mr. Lloyd Jones was in partnership with Woodin. There are other transactions with the same firm recorded. The first mentioned stock-taking was ordered on August 19th. A non-attendance fine of appointed waiters, who acted as shopmen, serving at the counter, was reduced from 1s. to 6d.

On September 5th, James Benson was appointed auditor in the room of J. Henderson. Samuel Smith was appointed treasurer for the next nine months. On October 28th the waiters appointed for three months were Brown and five others.

On December 16th (still 1854) it was resolved "That Mrs. Birkett be allowed £2 as a loan, and pay the same to the funds by not less than 4s. 4d. a quarter, and more if she thinks well." This is another act of friendliness to a woman member, probably a widow. The minutes are entered in a crude way, and the one just cited is open to the construction that "she might have more money if she thinks well," but the meaning probably is that she might repay more than the "4s. 4d. a quarter" if she be able. At this meeting it was proposed and seconded (January 6th, 1855) "That Mr. J. Whittle buy a pig," of which nothing more is said. It probably came to a quieter end than one purchased subsequently.

A motion was made (December 16th, 1854) "to consider the propriety of removing the Stores of the Co-operative

Society." On January 18th, 1855, a motion was made "That we take two rooms, that is, two rooms belonging to Mr. Biggs, in Victoria Street." Samuel Smith and John Clegg, who appeared to have an affection for the upstairs store, proposed "That we remain in the place in George Yard." It was, however, unanimously carried "That we take Mr. Biggs' rooms, and that Samuel Smith (who did not want to go there) be appointed with Littlewood, Leake, and Corner to wait on Mr. Biggs as early as possible in the present week." Eight months elapsed since a deputation was appointed to see Mr. Biggs, but what they said to Mr. Biggs, or what Mr. Biggs said to them is not recorded. But the unrest was revived at this time, and on the motion of Wm. Corner and J. Henderson (September 3rd, 1856), it was agreed "to summon a Special General Meeting to consider the propriety of breaking up the Society." This was held on September 12th, 1856, when H. Pemberton and S. Smith moved in Parliamentary terms "That the proposal to break up the Society be adjourned to this day six months." That was lost, but another motion was carried, "That the Society be broken up in three months." At another special meeting, on the motion of H. Pemberton and J. Henderson, it was carried "That this Society be dissolved on the first Monday in December." At length the date of its dissolution was fixed, but the party of continuity had not exhausted their resources. They arranged that S. Smith and E. Sillwood wait on all members who had given notice to withdraw their shares, to learn whether they will allow them to remain if the society goes on. Evidently the society consisted of determined co-operators, for it took more trouble to break up the society than it did to start it.

December 4th, the day of doom, came, and the society was not dissolved as ordered, for on December 11th the "Dead Stock" was directed to be valued, and on December 19th it was proposed and seconded "That we carry on the trade of the Co-operative Store." Thus the gallant little society continued its career. But the advocates of retreat were still active.

It was a resolution of courage and faith, for the prospects were not good. In the September quarter, 1853, the sales had amounted to £173, the dividend and interest was £5. 0s. 10d. In the second quarter of 1855, the receipts had gone up to £200, but the receipts were now falling to £10 a week, which was reached in 1857.

Remembering the futility of all previous methods then known, of putting the society to death, a more vigorous process was now proposed. Since resolutions to break up the society and to dissolve it—the day of dissolution being duly fixed—had all failed, it was proposed (December 15th, 1857) by J. Henderson, seconded by William Corner, "That we smash the concern up." Clearly, it was the only course, since all other means of extinguishing the society had proved ineffectual. This desperate motion would have ended the society if anything would. But there was a majority of four against putting the society to a violent death. Then the friends of continuation took the field. J. Colbourne moved "That we get another place" (Withdrawn). Strange to record it was moved by J. Henderson "That we keep this place." Many had attachment to the store in the loft, and the motion was carried. Lastly, it was proposed by H. Glover and seconded by S. Smith, "That we try another quarter and see what progress we can make," which was carried by a majority of five. The battle of December 15th, 1857, ended by Littlewood and Corner being appointed to see Mr. Biggs, and try to get the premises for less rent, which suggests that it was a question of rent which caused the previous negotiation to fail.

The George Yard Society had got the ready money idea in their minds and kept pretty well to it. In October, 1857, they restricted credit to the amount any member had in the funds.

It is to be inferred, though not formally recorded, that the society came to terms with Mr. Biggs and removed to Victoria Street. The society had had an honest career in George Yard. It had no debts—being prudent it had no losses except such as came from depreciation of their small stock by time or misadventure, or by sugar proving to be of inferior quality than they had bargained for—a very creditable record for working men during seven years' administration of an unfamiliar business in which they had everything to learn.





Transference to Victoria Street.

CHAPTER IV.

THE store in Victoria Street was in another yard—but it was without a thoroughfare. On the right hand there stood, in 1858, a small plain looking chapel, on which now stands a handsome Congregational edifice. Next the chapel was a private house, and between the two was a narrow passage, which still remains. Next to the private house was a toy shop occupied by a Mr. Biggs, and the yard was called “Biggs’ Yard,” as he had a warehouse in it. It was that warehouse that was occupied by the George Yard co-operators. It is now occupied by a zinc worker and tinman. Indeed, at the present time, there is quite a nest of workshops about the yard. The private house is now a grocer’s shop. The grocer, a very civil person, who in answer to my question as to whether he had knowledge of any co-operators being about there 40 years ago, said “O yes, the co-operators began up the yard at the back of this shop,” which identified the Victoria Store. Mr. Hilliard was the first, as we rode by it, to point out to the writer the narrow passage which led to it. Of course, as the reader now knows, the co-operators did not begin there. But tradition is seldom accurate. Their seven years in the George Yard, was unknown to the courteous grocer.

Here, again, in the Biggs’ Yard Store, Mr. Brown long waited on customers behind the counter, without salary or fee of any kind—the business not being sufficient to pay for assistance.

After October 14th, 1858, no minutes are recorded until January 13th, 1859.

In the year 1857 mention was made of applying for a

license, but it is not said for what purpose. This was probably because the idea of opening the society to the public was in the air. But a more immediate need was in the mind of H. Glover, who moved "That we have the skylight repaired." Both as a carpenter and amateur grocer, water coming in upon the sugar would seem to him intolerable.

An August committee meeting report commences with the words: "Mr. Benson in the chair," the first time any chairman has been mentioned. Messrs. Colbourne and Sedgwick proposed "That we take premises of the Working Men's Association, and take possession of premises for £12 per annum for one year certain, at a quarter's notice on either side." The committee of the Working Men's Association, who appeared to hold the premises, were willing to make any alterations that might be suggested. The warehouse store in Biggs' Yard does not prove an ideal place, since already the minds of members are turned towards a new one. The society was now bent upon emigrating elsewhere, and they proceeded to appoint Samuel Smith and Mr. Colbourne to wait upon the Working Men's Association Committee, to effect an agreement. But whether the committee ever returned, or what success they had, was never reported, and no more reference is made to the subject. The unrest ended in the society going to Full Street, but no minute records the time when the step was taken.

No minutes are ever signed, and the recording scribe appears to be often changed, from the different handwritings, and on this date, for the first time, it was agreed that the secretary's salary, whose name is not given, be increased 5s. a quarter, by which time it may be inferred they were in Full Street, where the business increased and the secretary had more duties to perform.

If the reader be not distracted by the date, it may be mentioned here that on June 6th, 1859, Colbourne and Slater were appointed to wait on Mr. Thompson. Whether he was the agent of Mr. Biggs does not appear. Presumably he was. The object of the visit probably related to the society's tenancy of the Victoria Street Store.

Nothing of mark is recorded this year, though a new departure of great moment did occur. There was no mention of a resolution to admit the public to membership, but the effect of it, when it took place, was soon seen in the minutes being mostly occupied in the admission of new members.

Towards the end of 1859 many proposals for the admission of new members are registered in the minutes, some of them being women who have never been named as members of the Carpenters and Joiners' Union. Among them Eliza Winfield was proposed by Mrs. Eaton, and seconded by William Winfield, and a candidate is spoken of "as a member of the Co-operative Association," which implies a larger conception of the society than heretofore.

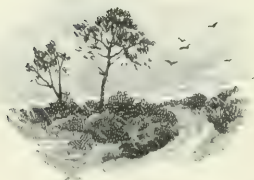
By the best construction of the minutes now possible, it may be assumed that the resolution to throw open the society to the public was arrived at in Victoria Street.

The event of the admission of strangers to membership, meant the effacement of the society which for nine years had carried the flag of co-operation. It requires good sense, good insight, and generous heroism, for a society to efface itself for the good of miscellaneous persons unknown. No wonder the question became one of conflict. The proposals to seek new premises and open the society to the general public, was regarded with disquietude. There was the conservative repugnance, which we know in politics, to transfer to others the advantages they had sought for themselves. There was the natural apprehension that outsiders would destroy the society. Some had fear of the business expanding beyond any power of management they possessed. They had no experience, and no belief in the chance of members furnishing persons abler than themselves. They were unaware that every man, as Lord Chesterfield said, brings into the world with him powers which are of the nature of Bills of Credit, upon which he never draws. It is opportunity which brings unsuspected ability into play, then these Bills of Credit become negotiable. The proposals to open the society to the public, nearly produced a revolt. The wiser members prevailed, and broke the barriers down which kept them from prosperity.

Up to this time the constitution of the society only admitted joiners to join. This had not arisen from narrowness or exclusiveness. The carpenters and joiners had formed a Co-operative Club, with a view to benefit by mutual dealing; just as the great Civil Service Co-operative Society in London did.

That was begun by a few clerks at the General Post-office, who having heard of co-operation in Rochdale, began by buying chests of tea and some other family articles, and selling them

among themselves. Only post-office men were permitted to join. Afterwards they opened a Civil Service Store in the Haymarket, and admitted the public as members. When the carpenters and joiners found that the bulk of their own order did not join them, who were uninformed or indifferent, whom they had no means to instruct, or failed to inspire—and the wiser members among them were too few to achieve success themselves, they wisely resolved to see whether others would take up the co-operative idea, and walk in the path they had marked out, and profit by the experience they had gained for them. Thus they became the pioneers of the greater society which succeeded them—which encountered difficulties that appeared insurmountable and amid discouragement which would intimidate ordinary men—and planted at last the co-operative standard on the heights where all the Midlands could see it.





Singular Career in Full Street.

CHAPTER V.

IN the year 1859 the Co-operative Association of Carpenters and Joiners, which had now become a public body, removed to premises in the rear of 47, Full Street, opposite the Assembly Rooms.

For the third time the store was located up a yard, at the head of a blind alley in a disused stable. The hayloft was the new shop and a small lower place too rude to be called a compartment, served as a committee room, low and so confined that when a member had to leave others had to go outside to let him pass, as the little table in the centre occupied all the vacant space.

A narrow, steep, ungainly flight of steps led to these "desirable premises" as the auctioneers say. No stranger could hope to find the place without a guide. Yet here they burrowed for several years. Though a new room was built and a lower stable converted into a shop, the inconvenience was merely mitigated. The premises may be seen now pretty much as they were then, when I and Mr. Scotton went over them 40 years later.

The place still has kinship with its old joiner occupants, for it is now a carpenter's shop, used by Mr. George W. Wood,* who showed us a row of old biscuit tins left by the co-operators, bearing the old labels, and for which other uses are now found. Nothing deterred the joiners, who knew how

*Mr. G. W. Wood, mentioned in a previous note, is the owner of the old premises. It is congenial to know that he has sympathy with innovatory thinkers, as he has a son bearing the name of Emerson Darwin.

to put things together in their manger store. They fitted up the place sufficiently for the business they had in hand. Hopeless as the prospect looked, it is admitted that the removal to Full Street was the turning point in the fortunes of the store, accelerated by the admission of outside members.

The rabbit warren looking place in Full Street, into which the pioneers had now crept, was not unknown to industrious and thrifty Derby citizens. The place had a name. It was known as Penny Bank Yard. On the right hand side was a library, which the store members had the advantage of using. This privilege was given them by the trustee of the property, the Rev. J. Erskine Clarke, the Vicar of St. Michael's Church, and the President of what was known as the Happy Home Union, which shows the Vicar to have been a man of kindly and genial sympathies. He is now known as Canon Erskine Clarke, Vicar of Battersea, Rural Dean and Canon as Winchester, and holder of other important offices, and of editor of *The Chatterbox*, and an author of distinction. He was a well-wisher to the humble society which had settled at the head of Penny Bank Yard, and is remembered with respect and honour on that account.

The reader has seen in the last chapter a Working Men's Association flitting through the pages like a shadow. All the while they were real and had some occupancy or control over the premises. For in March, 1863, the Rev. Erskine Clarke and Mr. Herbert Holmes, representing the Working Men's Association, agreed to pull down some buildings, adjoining the old stable where the store was, and build a room on the ground floor for a grocery department. The rent charged for the new room being £26 a year and the society had to pay two years' rent in advance, and take a lease for seven years. It was then that the drapery and boot department was started, and meat was sold in another room.

In June, 1860, the society consisted, like the French Academy, of 40 members. But before long a great change took place. It was soon noised abroad among working people, who had ears to hear, that there was a place up Full Street Yard where persons could draw money out of a bank, who had never put any in, and what the members received bore the unfamiliar name of "dividends on purchases." Before long new members came dropping in. Henderson, Littlewood, Brown, Glover, Swift, Corner, S. Smith, and other George

Yard pioneers, were proposing new members at one or other committee meetings, Scotton, Hilliard, Riley, and other more recent names frequently appear as proposers or seconders of new members. Pages and pages of the minutes of the committee are filled with the names of new members who were proposed and seconded, elected, and had paid their admission shilling. As many as 36 were admitted on a single night in 1860. The ceaseless proposers were the vigilant scouts of the Full Street army, who reconnoitred the enemy and brought scattered or wandering adherents, who did not know where the new camp was. Railway men, who are alert by nature, came about the place and put life into it.

Business began to improve, and the Full Street ramshackle rooms were converted into a Night Store, opened every evening from 7 to 9-30, and on Saturdays from 2 to 10 p.m. The society soon found they must open their premises daily, and employ a shopman. Their secretary was Robert Riley. Mr. Scotton was appointed assistant secretary, who was also to take part in the duties at Full Street while it was open at nights. Next "a safe is to be bought, not being safe for the shop to be left to itself," which needs explanation. The meaning was that the store premises at the top of the yard, might easily be broken into and things of value be carried away, and a safe to lock up books or articles most in need was required. A safe might baffle casual and miscellaneous thieves. The store was too small to tempt professional burglars.

This year (1860) mention is made for the first time of a "Quarterly Meeting." Shortly after, a portion of the profits was set apart for a Reserve Fund for incidental expenses. This appears to be the beginning of the Reserve Fund, which has falsified so many predictions of the dismal prophets, who said that co-operative societies would soon fail. None of them foresaw that working men would have the prudence to provide against loss.

Hitherto the names of members, their proposers and seconders, and the payment of their admission fee were recorded, and that was all the committee knew about them. Now their increasing numbers made it necessary to have a separate record of their residences, and the secretary was empowered in September (1860) to get a book in which to keep the names and addresses of the members. It was ordered "That we have 4,000 hand-bills printed to distribute through the town,

that the words Co-operative Store be painted on the door." Probably the first time the words were painted on the lintel of any Derby entrance. This implies that strangers were coming to their gates, and it was desirable that the Co-operative Gate should be made plain to the curious and to the inquirer. Increase of business had for some time imposed new work on the office holders, and it was agreed that the secretary was to receive 15s. extra for extra labour during the last year. His salary was to be 4d. a head, the treasurer's 2d. a head, and the waiters 1d. per head. Moreover the secretary was to have a bag in which to carry his books. Subsequently, when Mr. George Smith had become secretary (Sept., 1861), the salaries were revised. He was to have £5 a quarter; A. Scotton, assistant secretary, £2. 10s. a quarter; S. Smith, treasurer, £3 a quarter. This was very moderate payment for the strenuous labour, often late into the night, which they rendered. This shows good sense on the part of a working men's society—workmen being usually jealous of any one having higher wages than themselves, not always remembering that the skill, thought, and voluntary industry of others, often when they were asleep, brought prosperity to the society and increased their own dividends.

There was no Women's Guild in those days, but the names of women appear as proposing members, whom they had doubtless induced to come to the store. Contribution books were ordered to the number of 300. Thomas Brown was to give 12s. 6d. per hundred for them, which shows that new members were coming in. No mean devotion is now shown in the interest of the store by purchasers, some of whom on Saturdays would trudge two or three miles to their homes with their week's provisions on their backs, strapped to their shoulder.

In 1861, it is ordered "that a *printed* report be made at the end of the quarter in future." The society had got the length of having quarterly reports—henceforth to be printed. The society is in business bloom now. Other signs of business maturity present themselves. The treasurer is requested to provide security of £100, four persons being bondsmen to the amount of £25 each. Money, hitherto so scarce, is at last coming to hand. Orders were given that two forms were to be fastened to the floor, and the members enter at one end in their turn and leave at the other, all of which implied increase of custom and distribution of dividends.

Though the committee were doubtless jubilant in their hearts, they did not neglect practical things: "Mr. Sherwin was directed to call and look at the pig in Brook St." of which they had heard, "and purchase it if suitable." A thousand copies of the rules which had come into existence, though their advent had never been mentioned, were to be printed, which looks as though a crowd of candidates were expected in Penny Bank Yard. In due course two coffee mills were ordered to be purchased, as well as scales suitable for general grocery business, upon which they were now fully embarked.

In February, 1861, for the first time a public tea meeting is to be held, the price being 9d. for adults, and 6d. for children under 12 years. When a really good tea is given, enabling strangers present to judge of the quality of the provisions of the store, there is no surer form, or more agreeable form of propagandism than this. If there be loss upon the entertainment, it is money well expended. A meeting was to be convened in the Temperance Hall, which shows that they were calling the attention of the town to the store. The Temperance Hall if disengaged is to be taken for monthly meetings, which implies great increase in members.

The committee advertise in the *Gazette*, and another Derby paper, for a female waiter in the hosiery and boot department. By beginning shoemaking so early it would seem that the Derby co-operators are contagion proof, which shows the workers should have a salubrious time. It is always remembered that when the Great Plague visited Derby, it never entered the premises of a tobacconist, a tanner, nor a shoemaker. A drapery was commenced. By agreement, the owners pulled down some outbuildings, and made a Grocery shop on the ground floor. Then the hayloft shop became the Drapery and Boot and Shoe department. Miss Brown had care of the Drapery department, to which access was still up the old stairs. The Drapery department grew as is the way with store draperies. Two buyers were despatched to Manchester to purchase new stock. At length the more ambitious members of the committee began to tire of back yards, and longed for a frontage in the street. Full Street was considered the Central Store, until the new store in Albert Street was built, which became the Central and the registered office of the society, and has continued so to the present day.

The society, however, soon recurs to the project, latent

but never still, of making tracks into the open. "Mr. Durbus is to be informed that we agree to take the premises in Traffin Street." There is no further mention of the Traffin Street premises, but they seem concerned also for the extension of their own accommodation where they are, for "Mr. Clarke is to be written to with a view to obtain the remaining part of the room on the ground floor as soon as possible, and if he will, lengthen the top-room floor." The committee then recur to their own affairs in Full Street, and resolve to take the room downstairs at an increased rent of £1. The work at Full Street is to be completed in a fortnight, which shows that the society not only continue in the occupation of that dreadful place, but contemplate additions. A refreshing thing seems to have befallen the dust-choked joiners, it being ordered in August, "That the joiners working at the Store have one gallon of ale given to them."

The general secretary appointed is to give his whole time to the duties, and have a salary of 33s. a week. Mr. George Smith became permanent secretary. A room was rented on the opposite side of the passage, which became the secretary's office and committee-room.

A proposal was made to establish a Wholesale Store at Full Street. The commissariat needs were growing.

The society early set itself against clandestine commissions, and ordered that "no persons connected with the society should solicit any gift from those from whom we purchase."

The society shows financial vigilance, and five coin detectors are to be bought. The property at Full Street is to be insured at £350, and the stock at £180, the drapery at £500, and grocery at £400.

The long deferred day of consideration touching the convenience of officers came at last. There is no end of dignity to be conferred on Full Street. A No. 4 safe, Cotterell's make, is to be bought for £8. A clock is to be bought for the Full Street committee-room, and an extra half-dozen chairs, including an arm chair. They are now to deliberate in comfort, and, no doubt, in a new committee-room, as no extra chairs could be got into the old one. At this time the Full Street premises had long been open all day, as an established emporium of provisions and other household commodities.

At length some of the directors came to the conclusion—



J. SWIFT, *late Secretary.*

not at all hastily, that they ought to move into more accessible premises. Three persons were appointed "to look out for a suitable place for a new branch store. The mind of the society was now fairly set upon extension, but proceeded with caution, wisely limiting their ambition to the measure of their means. It was ordered "that the place in Brook Street be taken as soon as possible, and calculations be made as to the cost of opening new stores," and further "that someone attend the sale of the Labour Hall and £450 be the extent of the bidding providing the report of those appointed to examine property is satisfactory. If otherwise, £400 or £420 is to be the highest sum offered. At the same time Colbourne, Reynolds, and Crossley are to be a deputation to Mr. Cox" to see on what terms we can have the Labour Hall and commence repairs." It was further agreed to advertise in three Derby papers for a contract to repair the Labour Hall. No mention is made whether the Hall is bought or not; but the committee go on attending to the business in hand. The treasurer was to place the money for the Labour Hall purchase, in Smith's Bank. The society ultimately bought the premises in Park Street known as the Labour Hall. The names John Swift and A. Scotton, appear on the committee at the time of the purchase of the Labour Hall, who were always to the front in enterprises. Mr. Brown is to have the key of the Labour Hall and attend should they (presumably the recent occupiers) want to get the boiler away. "The society will find its own wood for repairs and pay for labour."

It was ordered that the committee should see the landlord, with a view to put in a ventilator, and if he would not do it, they were to do it themselves. The society was of Æsop's opinion, that they who want reluctant business done had better provide to do it themselves. The long experience of the committee in the room they so long occupied, which resembles the infamous Calcutta prison, in which so many were stifled to death—may well have turned their attention to ventilation. Vitiating air made worse by the flickering and smoking candles which lighted them, oft till midnight, must have produced not only physical enervation, but obfuscation of mind unless they were men of iron intellect as well as of iron constitution. In 1860, when their deliberations first began there, the co-operative seed they had sown was indeed growing, but it made a very scant appearance above the ground. Many

were the anxious nights spent by the committee in those times. Mr. Scotton relates that "often have I heard during our deliberations, the midnight chimes ring out from the tower of the neighbouring church of All Saints, before we returned to our homes." Had this midnight committee in these mysterious quarters sat in London, they would have been all arrested as a new band of Cato Street conspirators. Nevertheless they continued for years their nocturnal debates, in the confined and airless cabin they called their committee room.

Sometimes an anxious wife would consult a policeman late at night, as to whether he had seen a stray husband about, as hers was absent. When at last he came home, he was found to have been at the co-operative committee. It was something to the credit of Derby husbands, if none were ever found to arrive at home late save those who were members of the co-operative committee.





A. SCOTTON.



The Park Street Store.

CHAPTER VI.

LABOUR HALL was a likely name to attract men whose object was to raise the order of labour. It was a one storey, very plain, conventicle-looking place. It had been used for humble purposes such as its name implied. The entrance to it was up steps, though less steep and rude than those of George Yard and Full Street. Victoria Street was the only stepless store they had had. That was a ground floor warehouse. For the first time the pioneers had now an entrance from the street, and ranked so far with other shopkeepers, though their customers had to climb steps, and they had no front windows in which to show their goods. Indeed they had no wall windows at all, the building being lighted from the roof. For the present, anyhow, they had escaped from back yards. At the top of the steps a door opened on to the hall floor. Underneath was a room of commensurate size, used at times as a dancing-room. Such were the premises of the new branch in a thoroughfare. The store remains there to this day, with some few alterations to be hereafter indicated.

The reader has seen how the society became possessed of the Labour Hall, and now held a freehold place of business. It was not in good condition and needed repairs before occupation. These were effected. It was fitted up in a way befitting its modest pretension, the work being done by members of the society after their regular day's work was over. The first Branch was opened on Thursday, July 18th, 1861, but it was appointed to be opened on July 11th. It was ready a week later, with regular paid servants, Mr. Hardy being shopman. Business was done in ordinary hours, as in other shops in the

town. Mr. Scotton was appointed to assist at the opening, and felt a little proud to be the taker of the first cash there. Afterwards he and Mr. Swift were appointed to attend in the evenings to enrol members. The place now ceased to be known as the Labour Hall, and became the Park Street Co-operative Store.

The story of the first Branch has an interest all its own. Many were the misgivings of all concerned as to the result of this enterprise.

The first year in Full Street, despite the many disadvantages of the place, developed unforeseen signs of growth. The first year in Park Street proved the wisdom and intrepidity of the new venture. In the December quarter of 1860, 290 members were enrolled, and £463. 14s. was received in contributions for shares. In 1861 the total membership had risen to 706, and the sales that quarter reached £2,560, an increase over the previous quarter of £767, at which the hearts of the members greatly rejoiced, for after paying 5 per cent on shares, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for depreciation of fixed stock, the dividend reached what in those days was thought magnificent, 1s. 8d. in the £. The society had found the secret of making money, and demonstrated to the town that co-operation meant profit. Previous to the opening of the Park Street Store, the receipts had been about £63 a week. In June, 1862, the receipts had increased to £450 a week.

This was not accomplished by sleight of hand, but by toil of hand and toil of thought. The committee did not spare themselves. Desirous of economising, they bethought themselves that instead of buying bacon, they might kill their own pigs. Underneath the meeting room of the Labour Hall, which, as we have said, was ascended by stairs, was a large room. One member fitted up a copper in it to boil the water for scalding the pigs; but being an amateur, there were defects in the construction of it, and it was difficult to get the water to boil. One evening the committee assembled at Park Street to superintend the slaughter of a pig. The amateur butcher did not understand his work, and was uncertain where the fatal stab should be given. One of the committee, who thought he knew, pointed with his walking stick to what he considered the right spot, but the pig resented the entire proceeding, and suddenly veered round so swiftly, that the stick pointed to the opposite extremity of the turbulent animal. It was late before

the operations were all over, and all the committee left save two, who remained to clear up the place a little, when they discovered all too late, that the amateur operator had gone home taking the key of the store, and neither knew where he lived. It was impossible to them to expose the little property of the society unprotected, and the two committee-men sat up all night with the pig.

Such an adventure was not likely to remain secret, and the next day the amateur delinquents were saluted with squeals from the members, who had learned what had happened, whereas they deserved praise rather than ridicule for their fidelity, and for the trouble they had incurred by their night watch for the preservation of the society's property. A caricature of the scene, in the underground room of the Labour Hall, was another feature of the untoward merriment. All the same there were comic aspects in the adventure. The co-operators showed great skill in their undertakings, but pig killing was not one of their attainments. However, the pig killing question lasted for some time, and appeared in many minutes. Two years later Mr. Wilford's resignation on the "Pig killing committee" was recorded. A pig killing committee seems to have been started. Another minute records "That Mrs. Newbold's terms are to be ascertained, and whether she will let her pig sty." A further minute says—"In future no refreshment whatever be allowed to any persons killing pigs at the society's expense, and a new butcher or meat man is to be obtained." It is clear the society suspected a leakage somewhere. Pigs seem to have been a great trouble to the committee from the beginning.

At length it was resolved, "That the pay of the committee be 10s. a quarter," not much certainly, less than 1s. a night, less than a mechanic would expect for two hours over work. In the case of the committee, the best faculties of the mind had to be employed for promotion of the interests of the society. The nights often prolonged, deputations have to be gone upon, and attendance in the chair or on the platform of public meetings, often at a distance, have to be given by members of committee. It is ever strange that working men, whose policy it is to have good wages, are seldom forward to give good wages themselves, to those in their service, which is setting a bad example to their employers; still, though the resolution did not go far, it showed, on the part of members, a rising sense of

business and self-respect, and that they no longer desired to have their affairs managed by charity, which is always against success. The committee became established at Park Street, and met again in a very small room. The committee ceased any longer to meet in Full Street.

The vigilance of the committee not only brought the members profit, but prevented loss. In 1861 the society issued paper checks representing the amount of purchases. Counter-foils were kept in the shopman's book. A woman presented at the Park Street Branch checks for £6. Mr. Scotton, one of the examining committee (there were two others—Messrs. Wilford and Cresswell) found a figure added to several, making the 1s. check to represent 11s. The woman was arrested and when the case was tried, the judge consulted with the counsel, and dismissed the accused. It appeared there was no law recognising forged checks to claim dividends, and the judge promised to communicate with the Attorney-General with a view to get a short Act passed, making that kind of forgery penal.

An amusing incident occurred at the trial. While the judge was engaged writing, the jury, consisting chiefly of farmers, were seriously deliberating in the box. The judge observing them, said, "Gentlemen, what is your difficulty, can I assist you?" The foreman replied they could not agree whether the prisoner was guilty or not. The judge said, "Gentlemen, the prisoner has been gone some time and is probably now at home." They had not noticed the dismissal of the accused. The society considerably resolved to recommend the prisoner to mercy, but a better termination came to her. Later the committee adopted metal checks and no further case occurred of the kind.

A pleasant thing was done in 1863, on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales, who has given valued proofs of his interest in the co-operative improvement of the people. To celebrate the advent of the Princess Alexandra, a holiday was given to all persons in the employ of the society, and £5 were proposed by the committee that a festive dinner should conclude the rejoicings of the day.

It is recorded "that the registered office be Park Street, according to Act of Parliament." A committee (on which were Messrs. Scotton, Mather, and Swift) was appointed to revise the rules, which were duly certified by the Registrar.



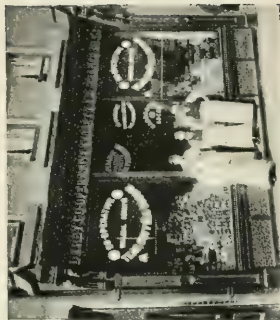
PARK STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1861.



NUN STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1862.



BRIDGE GATE GROCERY, OPENED 1866.



ABBAY STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1868.

Revision and amendments have to be made by every society as its business advances.* The society in 1863 came under the new rules. The whole of the committee then vacated office. On voting, the following persons were elected on the committee: W. Wilford, T. Barrodell, W. Slater, A. Scotton, G. Wright, W. Ashindle, W. Corner, H. Barrett, T. Sherwin, T. Cresswell, and W. Hemm, in the order here named. On July 24th, 1863, the committee-men of each store were requested to have their names posted in each store, for the purpose of members making complaints or asking questions, which shows the equality cultivated in the society, and that the suggestions made by members for improvement in any respect, would be received with friendliness by the committee. On opening the Park Street Branch, a manager was appointed. It is the first time a "manager" was mentioned. They early resolved to stop giving credit, into which they had fallen, it being contrary to co-operative profession, and opposed to thrift, economy, and independence, for he who is in debt is owned by somebody else.

In those days of enthusiasm, imagination was very active. The Park Street Store being the first possession of the society, the little freehold was thought to be capable of everything, and a question was brought before the committee of erecting a bakehouse at Park Street. The bakehouse question was destined often to come before the committee.

Eventually, alterations in Park Street were resolved upon, and were to be completed in three weeks, under a penalty of £3 a day beyond that time. Mr. Brown's contract was accepted, and a radical change of front was contemplated. The "floor was to be made level with the street," Park Street is the place meant though not named in the minutes. By lowering the floor the old Hall gained in loftiness of appearance, and the old dancing-room, the scene of festive and tragic events as we have related, lost in height; but the shop is made level with the street, the steps are abolished, and customers can enter as they would at other shops. The floor-lowered room makes a commodious place of business, as may be seen to this day.

This chapter is designed to include only the earlier days of the Park Street Branch. The society flourished here and grew in favour with the members, and acquired position in the

*As late as 1899 important amendments were under consideration.

town. Its march was onwards. Extension was always its watchword. In due course the committee had in view to open a second branch. The Dove Inn was advertised for sale by contract, the reserve price £1,200, and the society bought it. They were in no want of a public house. The Dove Inn was an innocent name, but if doves drank much beer they would not be very innocent, and if co-operators were given that way, they would not have much money to spend at the store. There were, however, back premises attached to the Inn property, out of which, or in which, a store could be made. There were not many trees to be seen in Park Street, and there were no nuns in Nun Street. It was a pretty one-syllable name, and in that street the second branch was established.





The Nun Street Branch.

CHAPTER VII.

THE Nun Street Store was established in a building which again stood back from the main street. The co-operators had no reason to regret coming to the front in Park Street, but they were for the fourth time up a passage, and the Nun Street Store, like all the previous ones (save Victoria Street) was on a second storey, in the rear of the Dove Inn. The ascent to the store was again up steps from the outside. The entrance from the street was through a narrow passage, which still remains. There were windows in the rooms occupied by the store, but they looked into the public house yard. The premises had been used previously as a clubroom and dancing-room. The society converted the dancing-room into a store, and the room beneath, which was windowless, into a warehouse. The Nun Street Store was opened in June, 1862, and new business soon rewarded the enterprise of the committee. Mr. Scotton—who was always at the door or altar of a new temple when initiatory ceremonies had to be performed—was, with Mr. Hilliard and Mr. Mather, appointed to pay the first dividends at Nun Street. It was done in the warehouse underneath the store.

In what a plain, humble way business had to be conducted there is seen in circumstances under which dividends were paid. Never was a more weird or humble banking house. There was no gas in the warehouse, nor any counter or desk. Two empty flour barrels were turned bottom up, and candles put in ginger beer bottles, furnished the light

whereby the paymasters of the co-operative forces discharged their duties. But before dividends could be paid they had to be earned. The method by which they accrued will best be shown by continuing the narrative of the proceedings of the directors.

The butcher, the baker, and the pig soon came into the minds of the committee, if, indeed, they were ever out of their thoughts. Mr. Brown was engaged to put up an oven, and the society began baking its own bread. Baking takes precedence in the productive functions of the store. An order was given for 300 sacks of flour. The bakehouse was real, and was soon doing business. Next we read of a "Baking Committee," who are instructed to examine the buns, and report.

It is notable in every department how conscientiously the society endeavours to carry out the co-operative pledge of purity and excellence in all things in which they deal.

In February, 1864, instructions are issued "for a Tea Party of 500 persons." Urns are to be obtained from the Midland Railway, who appear to be friendly to the store. Plainly there are vegetarians on the committee, since ham sandwiches are prohibited, which appear to have been formerly provided. The baker is to make a specimen loaf, and say what he puts in it. The portions of currants and raisins are enumerated, and by a special resolution he is to be permitted to put "two eggs in each stone of bread." Truly the eggs were not in excess. But the committee have their own ideas on that point. Never were there such conscientious bakers. To this day, as will be seen hereafter, the committee are honourably scrupulous as to the quality of their provisions.

The butchers—or meat makers—largely occupy the attention of the committee. At a later date (1871) it is ordered that they are "to have not more than half a pound of steak allowed them on Fridays instead of going home to dinner, and that it be left to the superintendent to look to it." Mr. Bagnall, at a later date, is to come before the committee, and the secretary is not to pay for the pig until after the committee meeting. The committee are to meet at Nun Street, "to consider an improved method of slaughtering pigs." Feelings of humanity went with their ideas of porcine economy.

Even in matters of decoration they left nothing to conventional fancy. The committee have special opinions

thereupon. In July, 1863, the committee, with the chairman, are desired to see to the painting of Nun Street, which is the first mention of the Nun Street Store in the minutes. On July 24th, it is resolved "That the windows at Nun Street be painted white, the doors and shutters are to be of dark grained oak in oil, the spouting and store door to be painted stone colour." The effect of coming into the open in Park Street for business has had its results. The committee begin to show taste and public daintiness. Probably the committee included experts of the brush among its members. Mr. Walker is "to have the painting of Nun Street for £3, and no money is to be paid until the work gives satisfaction." Another minute shows personal kindness. "Mr. Allen is to be allowed leave of absence from Monday till Thursday morning, 9 o'clock, and that his wages be paid. Mr. Peel is to take his place for that time." Probably some calamity had befallen his family.

In the earlier years at Nun Street the society, judging from the minutes—from which we transcribe the following items—appeared to have made the Post-office their bankers. On July 25th, 1865, "£150 to be invested in the Post-office Savings Bank," on August 11th, another £50 is paid in, on August 27th, £150 more. In 1866 another £100 was similarly invested, and on March 13th, 1867, a further sum of £100. As late as 1871 it was laid down as a general rule that "spare capital be invested in the Post-office Savings Bank."

Full Street was the seat of the Executive until it was superseded by Albert Street. In the meantime two other branches were established, Bridge Gate, 1866, and Abbey Street, 1868. Up to that time there were five places of business and the proceedings of the committee applied to one, or other, or all of them, unless otherwise specified, or indicated by dates. The incidents next enumerated are given generally in the order of time.

Stock is to be taken (December, 1863) in each store and "each stocktaker is to have 3s. for the day." Considering the labour, exactness, and conscientiousness required for this duty, 3s. a day is slender payment, unless it was an addition to wages. Dividends were fixed for Saturday at each store. The annual report for 1864 is to be read and an address be given, which is the first time an annual meeting or address has been mentioned. The profits realised are to be put in the balance sheet for 1865. A dividend is declared at 1s. 3d. in the £.

This resolution as to profits being published is judicious, though late. Mr. Swift is to assist the secretary in getting up the report. Mention is made of "Cottage House," in Nun Street, which is to have a new side boiler. The society possesses house property in 1864. Several later minutes show that the society was an accessible and liberal landlord, thoughtful for the conveniences of its tenants; alterations are to be made at Nun Street which shows that the society is always growing and always increasing its facilities of business. Two hundred and fifty books are ordered for the drapery department, business is growing there. Business is active in 1865. "Shopmen not present at eight in the morning are to be fined 6d. One hour is allowed for dinner." Two thousand co-operative tracts are ordered. Public inquiry is being made about the stores which has to be satisfied.

As early as 1864 inquiries were made as to the feasibility of setting up a branch in Cotton Lane. In 1865 the committee are to look for a suitable place for a branch in the neighbourhood of the Osmaston Road. Fixtures for the Bridge Gate shop were under consideration. The same year a sub-committee was appointed to inspect the best localities for opening branch stores. Opening new branches had become a habit. Later, property in Abbey Street was to be inspected; also, the first place available there or in Burton Road to be taken. The passion for extension does not neutralise the sense of prudence. The goods at Bridge Gate are to be insured for £150. Indeed prudence was with the committees, as earlier stores, as we have seen, were insured. Next, inquiries were to be made respecting land in Burleigh Street. In 1867 the trustees of the Working Men's Associations were requested to make an offer of their property. These pleasant invitations, given from time to time, denote open-eyed enterprise. In 1868 a musical and literary entertainment was resolved upon, and the opening of the reading-room, at an admission of twopence. A month later the secretary was appointed to attend the sale of certain property, and to go to £550 in his biddings. In 1869 "Land is ordered to be bought in Derwent Street and Burleigh Street, if to be had." This year the Abbey Street Store and stock are to be insured in the Co-operative Insurance Company for £400.

As a tea party is resolved upon earlier, Mr. Oates is to be solicited to give an address. There is to be interim singing.

Ham sandwiches are to be *restored*. Ladies' tickets are 350 in number ; Children's tickets, 150. The Mayor is requested to take the chair, but in case he refuses, Mr. T. Roe is to be asked. This shows the society had now the consciousness of public importance. A thousand members' books are ordered. New adherents are coming in.

" Mr. Greening is to be informed (July 1867) that two copies of the ' Industrial Partnership Record ' will be taken for the use of the committee." A report of the proceedings of the last quarterly meeting is to be sent to each newspaper in the town. By this time the proceedings of the society have public interest. In 1869 the dividend was 1s. 6d. in the £. In 1870 it had risen to 1s. 8d. in the £.

As early as 1866 a horse and cart were bought. The committee built a stable at the back of the Nun Street Store, and kept there the first horse the society possessed. A frontage was now wanted. As the Dove Inn stood at the corner of Nun Street and William Street, as it does now, could the society have converted that into a store, the position had been commanding. Later, Nov. 3rd, 1871, they bought two small freehold cottages, which adjoined the passage entrance to their store, for £260. On the site of those two cottages they built the present Nun Street Store, which stands in the street line. The new store cost £407 to build. This, with the purchase money of the two cottages (which they pulled down) made the cost of the Nun Street Store £667. Some additions raised it to £683.

Not having any desire to enter upon the publican business, and the reconstruction of the Dove Inn being too expensive, the society sold it to complete the purchase of the cottages.

Activity and advance of the cause came with Nun Street, activity impossible until capital was acquired by the accumulation of profits. Branch making continued to be a pursuit. Mr. Brown, now of Acton, to whom reference has been made, is the one living member who helped in the formation of the George Yard Society, and who remained in Derby until after Nun Street Store was established, gives it as his impression that the success of co-operation in those days was largely owing to the energy, perseverance and tact of the secretary, Mr. George Smith, and John Swift, and the good working committee, some of which continue to this day.

George Yard, Victoria Street, Full Street, Park Street, and

Nun Street Stores are the five cardinal places in the early history of the Derby Society. The events, romance, and character occurring there, will always have interest. The fortunes of co-operation in Derby were founded in those five places. For nine years Full Street Store was the legislative chamber, whence the edicts of the committee issued for the government of the other stores, until the Central buildings of Albert Street arose.





Curiosities of Early Records.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE reader who does not give a few minutes to this chapter will have no adequate idea of the time and labour of investigation it has taken to put into readable order the story of the Derby Society. The early records are a mine of curiosities and of omissions, if a mine of omissions be conceivable. The first minute book was a thin, coverless quarto, as it has come down to this time. Unruled, unpagged, and incomplete. Half the pages were filled with the names of members, their proposers and seconders, and the other half containing all the official records for eleven years, and all the executive proceedings of four Stores—George Yard, Victoria Street, Full Street, and Park Street. As we have said, the minute books bore no name, or designation. No mention was made of any place where the meetings were held, and not often the year in which the committee met. It is not said where they were at any time, nor where they were going to when they thought of moving; nor is it recorded when they were doing business, where they had moved to. The names were as mysterious as the minutes. One member appears at various times as “Corne,” “Corney,” “Corner.” The last proved to be the right way of writing his name.

In 1856, six years after they had commenced, few transactions are set forth, and no entries of significance. The items recorded relate to orders for goods, and the minutes extend only to October 15th in the year. There are no entries from October 15th, 1856, until March 19th, 1857. No other meeting is recorded until December 15th, when an adjourned

meeting is mentioned. The minutes for 1861 are signed for the first time by the "Chairman," J. Reynolds. At that time the payment for the services of the committee was but 5s. a quarter. Their few Christmas boxes, hitherto received by them, were ordered to be carried to the General Fund. The £1 each, or 4½d. per week, for their year of late night attendances and other duties, which often encroached on meal hours, and often occupied portions of other nights, was not increased. Thus the door was kept open for clandestine commissions, which have been the bane of so many societies. It is not said or suggested by the members that this hard-working committee sought or received, afterwards, any secret gifts, but if they had, there would have been an excuse for it, in the face of the niggardliness of this confiscation of the Christmas boxes, which were not harmful since they were known. To the credit of the members, the confiscation was rescinded. Afterwards, two members of the committee were requested to resign for allowing, or offering to allow, credit. This was an act of principle to forbid credit in a co-operative society, which has honour because it inculcates thrift, teaches thrift, and seeks to deliver its members from the degradation and slavery of debt.

The second minute book, again a thin quarto, has a cover, but it commences without any date, or place being given. A subsequent minute book states the year as being 1863.

After May 13th, 1862, no minutes are signed until November 24th, 1863, when W. Slater's name appears as chairman. After January 18th, 1864, no chairman's name appears until July 17th, 1865, when Samuel Taylor signs the minutes. In the year 1865, the minutes are to be confirmed, and that by resolution, and not by the signature of the chairman.

The third minute book is a larger quarto, in boards, still thin, bought apparently for its cheapness, as dilapidation seems to have been hereditary in its binding. It gives minutes under date, October 10th, 1865 continued, but does not say where from. The last committee meeting in the last book was dated August 25th. The last entry in the minute book relates to a familiar question: "Resolved, that it be left to the Pig Committee and the Secretary to determine how many pigs shall be killed in the week." A preceding minute orders, 'That the Pig Buying Committee be allowed to make arrangements with Mrs. Newbold for stable and pig sty.' The lady's

“sty” is the subject of another minute. The ubiquitous animals are to be well taken care of, and a sausage machine is to be bought for the meat men to make sausages. What has been said in an earlier chapter of the just landlordism of the society, is borne out by a minute of 1873, when the chairman and Mr. Scotton were appointed to examine the cottage houses in Harriet Street, and “see what wants doing.” The society had regard for the needs and comfort of tenants. They were not like Mrs. Poyser’s landlord, who looked only after the rents, and had no thought for the comforts of the occupants.

In this third minute book, for the first time the records are called those of the “Derby Co-operative Provident Society.”

In 1861 minutes are signed by James Topham, in 1862 by John Wheatly, in 1866 by John Riley, in 1867 by W. Wilford as chairman. Of Taylor, Wheatly, and Wilford before named, the two first of the three were in office but a short time, and did not long take interest in the society’s proceedings. Mr. James Mather became president April 17th, 1872. His name appears with great regularity down to July, 1873, afterwards Mr. A. Scotton’s name similarly appears as president. Mr. Mather’s long and conspicuous services are held in high estimation among the members. No succession of presidents is traceable, only a series of chance chairmen. This however is always the case with infantine societies, as it is with their newspaper organs when they have them. Their business is conducted, and their organs are written by charity, but when the business attains to an assured income, or their news organs command a satisfactory circulation, it is discovered that charity has no dependence in it, and means inefficiency and loss. It pays best to pay well all whose services are indispensable.

True, it often happens that precious services, more than money can buy, are given for nothing by men of zeal and principle, but such devotion cannot be demanded, and ought not to be rendered free, when there are means of paying for them, as it would deaden the sense of independence and self-respect in the recipients. Help which is strength to the weak, is enervating to the strong.

Nevertheless, co-operators learned to act like gentlemen sooner than was to be expected. When the stores attained the status of a commercial firm, they contributed to public charity and to the relief of public distress, like employers, and

often did more than private employers. All over the minutes are scattered records of gifts. The Derby Society in 1869 sent a subscription to London in aid of a public conference, which ended in holding the first Congress and in establishing the Central Board, which the writer was appointed to propose in a special paper. Nor was the charity of the Derby Society outside only, it began at home. Two guineas and then three guineas a year was given to the Infirmary, and as the society increased in means, the annual contribution was increased to five guineas. From fraternal feeling, which early prevailed, they made gifts in aid to societies in need of help. This indeed was a characteristic of earlier societies in days when co-operative societies were in their infancy. So far back as 1834 there was an old co-operative society at Foleshill, near Coventry, familiar to Dr. John Watts and John Collier Farn, both co-operative advocates born in Coventry. Recently, Mr. College, secretary of the Lockhart Lane Society, at Foleshill, sent Mr. Scotton information that he had found in an old minute book the following entry, "January 30th, 1834 :—At a meeting called expressly for the purpose, James Harris in the chair, it was moved by Thomas Wikins, and seconded by Richard Farefield, and carried unanimously, 'That this society do give to the Derby weavers the sum of £1, the better to enable them to withstand the tyrannous impositions sought to be practised upon them by their employer.'—James Harris, Chairman."

At this time the worth of this Co-operative Society was entered at £35. 15s. 4d. It was out of that they made their generous gift.

In 1834 Derby was the seat of the silk trade, and had many large mills which have long since declined. The timely gift to Derby workmen, then on strike, was made 16 years before the Derby Co-operative Society began, that ought to have led to the formation of a co-operative society in Derby. The Foleshill gift was made ten years before the Rochdale Society began to popularise participation in profit among members, which first made co-operation attractive to workmen.

One curious minute more may be sufficient to justify the title of this chapter. The minute is as follows:—"Sept. 25th, 1867, 'That the Secretary shall not grant leave of absence to any servants, except in cases of sickness or death, and that any servant requiring leave of absence, between the committee nights, shall apply to the committee over that store.'" That

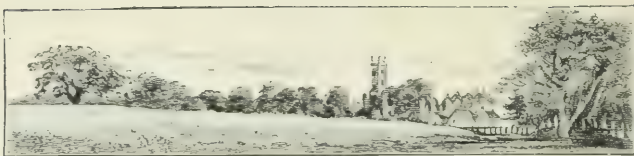
the "sick" should give personal notice of their condition is conceivable, but how the "dead" are to do it is not so clear. They do not usually ask for "leave of absence," they take it, regardless of official resolutions, or the duty of applying for permission to die. The dead servants of the Derby Society in 1867 must have had their wits about them, if they complied with this resolution, which probably meant that in case of the sickness of any servant, or of death in his family, leave of absence would be granted on due notice thereof, but this is not said.

The fourth book of minutes is a substantially bound volume. It opens with the proceedings of the committee of June 10th, 1861, and the entries have a business air about them, yet it makes no mention of the place where the committee met.

The fifth minute book is a handsome and larger volume with the words "Minute Book" on the back, and on the side "The Derby Co-operative Provident Society Limited" in gold letters. It commences with the proceedings of the committee of June 19th, 1872, but still without disclosing where the committee sat. Conspirators could not be more reticent about their address. The records are now businesslike, uninterrupted, and clear.

Though the minutes were irregular and often deficient during the first 20 years, as is common with societies of working men in the early years of a self-helping movement—they show the proceedings to be entirely representative, as everything is done by resolutions of committees, of which all the members are cognisant—as is the rule in co-operative societies. It may be said of these brave if humble actors—in the words of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker in his alluring story of "A Preacher's Life," when describing Tyneside men of a similar class—"They were honest men and useful citizens, and we must in common justice remember that their environment was not favourable to the large mindedness and intellectual emulation associated with life in large and prosperous towns." Derby was not "large and prosperous" as it now is, when the Co-operative Society first began to improve the condition of working people.





The Central Stores.

CHAPTER IX.

THE Central Stores, situated in Albert Street, and continued without break into Exchange Street, is the most imposing commercial sight in Derby. Whether considered with regard to their origin, their extent, their appearance, or position, they are alike notable. Were it possible for a spectator to take a bird's eye view of the 37 branches, radiating from this centre, he would admit that the sight is as the Scotch would say—"just wonderful."

The second of the three jubilee societies, that of Leeds, has its Central Stores in Albion Street, and the Derby Society has its multitudinous Central Buildings in Albert Street. Both streets begin with the first letter of the alphabet. Leeds has, and Derby bids fair to have, branches enough to exhaust all the remaining letters.

In Nun Street, the ambition of expansion "grew," as all good things ought, "by what it feeds upon." As early as 1865, the committee were instructed "to inquire the rent of suitable premises for a Central Store." The possibility of being able to buy freehold land and build premises for themselves did not then appear.

In 1868 it was found that a little property was to be bought in Albert Street, on which a Central Office could be erected. In January, 1869, the purchase was resolved upon, but not without ominous doubts being awakened.

The reader has seen what consternation was created when it was proposed to emerge from the dreary alley in Sadler

Gate to Victoria Street. But that was surpassed by the alarm which took possession of apprehensive members when the step was taken to buy land and build upon it. The ruin of the society was pronounced not only to be certain, but absolute. The romance of co-operation has nowhere been more conspicuous than in Derby. Nobody could prove that the projected purchase would not ruin the society. But in co-operation, as in war, risks have to be run, and self-help requires good judgment, and a cool calculation of chances. Is it not Bishop Butler who says, "Probability is the guide of man," and it requires no mean ability to estimate probability. Honest, prudent self-help makes character. Responsibility is a noble education. It requires thoughtful courage to face the consequences of an important decision. Those who incur responsibilities must meet them. They who would save others from the results of their own actions would fill the world with fools. The members were wary, and weighed things well. A meeting was held, and it was only after anxious discussion that a resolution was passed authorising the committee to buy. When this was declared carried, the oldest and most loyal member of the society rose and declared, with some emotion, that "they had driven the first nail in the coffin of the society." But the coffin never came up for nailing, and instead, the nail was driven into the nascent chariot of the Central Stores. The mistaken prophet is still one of the best members of the society, and no one rejoices more than he that his honourable misgiving for the welfare of the society was unfounded.

No Cassandra, nor any prophecy of disaster, deterred the society. Mr. Moody was instructed to prepare the necessary deeds of purchase, and the seal of the society was ordered to be attached to the agreement. The dimensions of the property were defined, "sixty-four feet frontage, and fifty-two feet in depth" were to be bought, and the secretary was to pay the deposit. Thompson and Young were to be the architects for erecting the Central Store, which was to be three stories high.

The front of the new stores was to be of red brick, picked out with white stone facings. Mr. Bridgart's estimate of £2,398 for the erection of the store in Albert Street was accepted.

The contract for the Central Store was thrown open for public competition, but the committee did not bind themselves

to accept the lowest tender, which was a wise co-operative condition. If purchasers in a store all bound themselves to take the lowest priced articles, taste and art and excellence would die. The worst things would be chosen, and the store reduced to a cheap selling shop. One lesson that needs perpetual inculcation is that members should be induced on all occasions to measure cheapness by excellence, and not excellence by cheapness. Of course excellent things may be cheap, but what the purchaser has to do, is to be sure that they are excellent.

Mr. Thompson's estimate of £199 was increased by extras amounting to £273. As happens to other building enterprises, it is subsequently found that something further is wanted—not thought of at first, and additional cost is incurred. The committee showed fairness and good sense in conceding the increase of charge for the inevitable extras.

By this time the branches were extending and required constant inspection, which implied a long and fatiguing walk to visit them. Besides, the erection of the Central Store necessitated daily oversight, so that it became economical to provide a vehicle (which was dignified by the name of a chariot) to enable the committee and other officers to superintend the operations in Albert Street, and personally to promote the business of outlying branches. Of course it was a new sensation for working men of Derby to ride about in a chariot of their own. This was not ostentation but necessity. The honour was that the zeal of the committee and the earnestness of the members had rendered convenience of travel indispensable.

Extension was still in the mind of the committee. In September, 1873, a special general meeting was called to consider the purchase of land adjoining Albert Street Store, belonging to Lord Belper. Had Lord Belper shown the same objection to co-operators at Derby, as a former Lord Derby did to Unitarians at Bury, there would have been no extension of the Albert Street Stores.

In the days of the old Lord Derby, who often appeared in the Preston Cockpit, and who was better versed in cock-fighting than theology, but was unfortunately the owner of all the land in Bury suitable for the site of an Unitarian Chapel, not a square yard would he grant for the worship of one God. Had the application been to purchase land for the excavation of a

cockpit, it would have been conceded. His *Grace* had no scruples on that head. The end of it was, the Unitarians had to wait until they could convert a small landowner, possessing a site adapted for their purpose, and not until then could an Unitarian Church be erected in Bury. Fortunately, Lord Belper was a man with a different disposition. Robert Owen, who had both visited and lectured in Derby, was very intimate with Joseph Strutt. Perhaps some influence lay there. Doubtless had Lord Belper listened to the opinions, or representations of shop-keepers, he might have declined to sell his land to co-operators. But he thought working men were as fully entitled as tradesmen to the rights of the market, and that conducting their business on the principle of co-operation, instead of competition, did not cancel their right of trading. It was to Lord Belper's sense of justice that the co-operators owed the possession of the most important mercantile site then available in Derby.

The first building contained a draper's shop, a shoe shop, a grocery, a meat shop, and a restaurant. The entrance to the dining and tea room is now through an inviting confectionery shop. The restaurant is open to the public, as well as to members. The tariff is low, the supply ample and of good quality—always possible to a co-operative society, pledged to excellence and wholesomeness. Such a house of call for refreshments, open to anyone, is a great convenience to purchasers at the store, to market people, and visitors to the town. Over this building was put the gilt legend of the society—clasped hands, the emblem of brotherhood. There must be amity in the hearts of men, before they clasp hands. The act is a pledge of goodwill. It means that personal strife has ceased, and unity of interest has commenced. Industry and fraternity all sharing in the advantages—this is the device of co-operation; never yet seen over a private shop. The private shop represents public convenience, good as far as it goes, co-operation goes further and represents the public good.

The seat of legislation which had severally been located in five places (last in Foul Street) was now finally established in Albert Street, and henceforth the growth and fortunes of the society are to be found in its initiative.

But legislation never ceased. Decrees of committee are necessarily perpetual, or government of the society could not go on. In reference to an inquiry for terms, it was agreed to

let Committee and Tea Rooms to the School Board at £40 per annum; the large room, when required, £20; gas and coal for £15; cleaning, £15 per annum.

Meanwhile the extension of Albert Street Stores has been going on. No. 1 in the series was opened in 1871, No. 2 followed; the cost of the two buildings, including the land, was £13,282. This great block was in part occupied in 1876. It will assist the reader to fully understand the extent of the buildings known as the Central Stores, in Albert Street and Exchange Street, if we anticipate dates a little. No. 4 premises in Exchange Street were opened in 1890, at the cost of £9,990. A fifth block of premises called No. 5, is situated in East Street, and is used for ironmongery goods. The back of these premises comes into the great business yard belonging to the Albert Street Stores. These premises were opened in March, 1897; their cost was £2,979, so that the whole of the Central premises cost £27,392. Thus, these Central premises came to contain warehouses, a large hall, lecture-room, ante-room, committee-rooms and offices, workrooms for shoemakers, tailors, milliners, dressmakers, and for the sale of drapery, millinery, furniture, grocery, provisions, meat, boots, and clothing. A Crossley's 5-horse power silent gas engine was erected in place of an old vertical noisy engine. These Central Stores, as the reader will see in the engraving of them, have a splendid and continuous frontage, comprising more than twenty fine shop windows, a portion of which stand in Albert Street, and the others extend into Exchange Street, formerly called Princes Street. East Street, where the ironmongery establishment stands, formerly bore the ignominious name of "Bag Lane," but when the thoroughfare became dignified by well-to-do buildings, the Corporation, desirous of extending in the town a knowledge of the points of the compass, dismissed Bag Lane "bag and baggage," to use Mr. Gladstone's famous Blackheath phrase, and substituted East Street.

The "yard," which has been incidentally so designated, is in reality a serious and not a frivolous interior. It is the dwelling-place of vehicles of all kinds and stores of all descriptions. In its various buildings, the commissariat departments of all the branches were established. The yard was full of business life every hour of the day, and often well into the night.

The Derby co-operators were not only economists in

business—they were economists in celebrations, and no ceremony is recorded when successive blocks were opened. The habit was to have a large party at the Drill Hall every Shrove Tuesday, and one of these meetings was made to serve for a public celebration, when one became due. But in 1876 the Shrove Tuesday Annual Tea Party took place in their new Co-operative Hall, which was crowded above and below, by one company succeeding another. Even the juvenile members of co-operative families had their entertainment. In the evening speeches were made, and the president, Mr. Hilliard, took the chair. Alluding to the practice of town grocers giving a present of a few candles to their customers at Christmas as a reward for their custom during the year, he said, "The Co-operative Society had given their members no candles, but had given them £7,196, which would furnish them with burning and shining lights all the year round." He said, what every society does not understand yet, namely, that "The women must lead in this movement, for co-operation is essentially a woman's question. The dividends paid during the year had clothed many a child and brightened many a home. It was the duty of every member to increase his or her income. England itself was of the nature of one great society, and it behoved everyone to increase its wealth, and the man who does nothing does not enrich the country, but takes from him who does. If everybody did their fair share of work, he and they would have to do a great deal less." All this was brightly and admirably said.

The annual report announced "the establishment of a Building Department in connection with the society. Already 14 houses had been erected, and four previously built had been allotted to members; and about six acres of land had been bought which would hold about 200 more. The land had been drained and streets marked out. The branch of the Meat-making Department had been opened on the Normanton Road. The new buildings in Albert Street, in Princes Street (since named Exchange Street), were near completion, which, when finished, would be the best block of buildings for business purposes in the town." It was stated, that by means of the Education Fund, they had started the *Derby Co-operative Record* for the better information of the members and the public. There was then in active operation, twelve branches in the Grocery Department, three in the Butchery (in this narrative

always spoken of as the Meat Department), three in Bakery, and one each in Drapery, Boots, Tailoring, and also two Coal Dépôts.

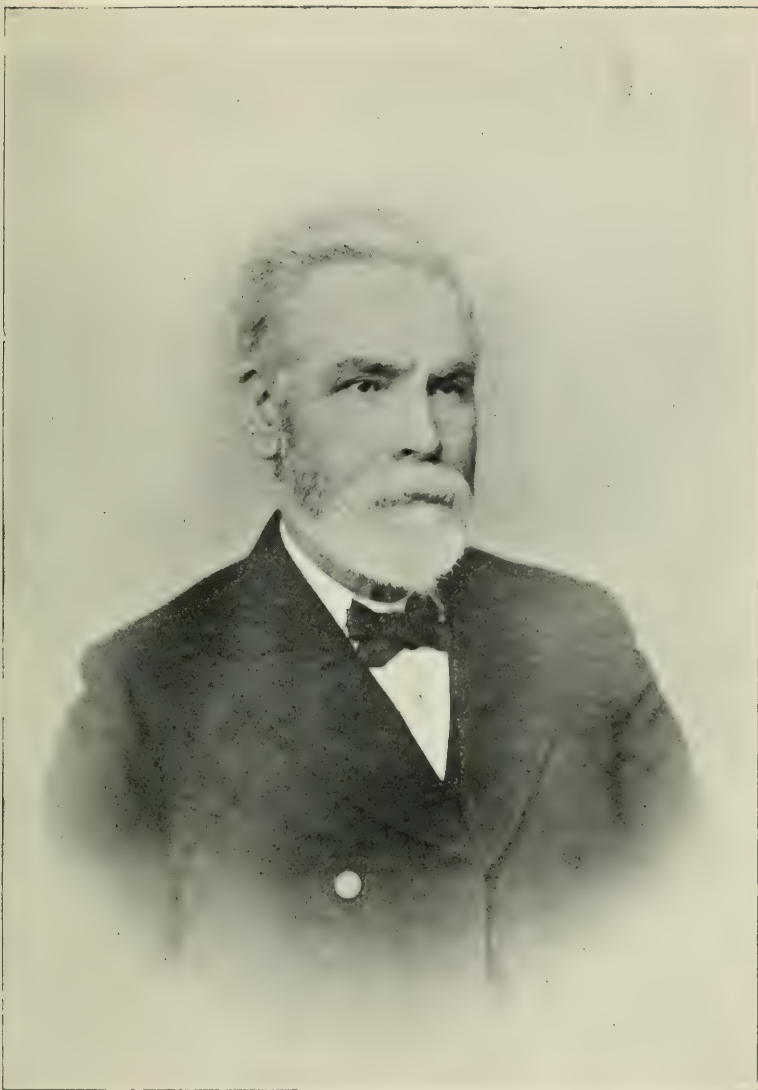
In the new building, the society possessed a large Lecture Hall of good dimensions, which contains a portable gymnasium for the use of members, when lectures, or concerts, or tea parties are not on. "A country," says Mr. Goldwin Smith, "without towns or cities, or stately edifices, little impresses the traveller, and never commands his admiration." This is true of co-operation—without stores of some mark and dignity, neither its importance, vitality, nor prosperity, is made manifest. Co-operation in Derby fulfils these conditions.

From various causes the dividend was low in 1872, being only 1s. 6d. in the £, made up from the Reserve Fund, it being understood that the amount taken from the fund be replaced when the profits exceed 1s. 6d. In 1873 the dividend declared was 1s. 10d. in the £. By this time the amount borrowed from the Reserve Fund, in July, 1872, will have been repaid. As late as 1875, a dividend of 2s. was realised. The names of persons admitted as members are still recorded in the minute book, as instance Mary Grocott, Mary Hill, Messrs. Harrigen, Toft, Topley, Hines, Hindley.

The *Monthly Record* for information of members, was established in this year. The public annals of the society commence in 1876. The Editor calls attention to the Penny Bank. The Albert Street extension is beginning to present a noble front. The fourteen houses and stores at California are progressing satisfactorily.

Elsewhere branch operations are going on. Mr. Blood's tender for the erection of property in Parliament Street and Stockbrook Street is to be accepted. The committee justly consider, owing to time having been wasted from causes known—the period of the contract be extended, and the fine for non-fulfilment reduced from £10 to £5 per week. This year (1876) the Building Department began. County votes were claimed and conceded.

The committee have been struck by a remark made at the Leicester Congress by Mr. John Ellis, chairman of the Midland Railway, which Mr. Hilliard commended, in one of his many speeches to branch meetings. Mr. Ellis, speaking in a Chapel where the meeting was held, said: "It was not often they saw a member of the Society of Friends in anything like a pulpit,"



R. HILLIARD, J.P., *Manager.*

then he made wise remarks which attracted attention in Derby. He said "success with co-operators as in every other kind of business, depended on the management and in an eminent degree on confidence. His own interest in their work arose from the fact that he regarded it as a movement in favour of self-reliance, thrift, and a desire to make the best use of the means which they, as hard workers, received as the result of their labours." Thrift, which Mr. Ellis justly commended, had been a characteristic of Derby co-operators. Profit-making does not go far unless Profit-saving accompanies it. This was the case in Derby for at this time, 1876, the society had in deposit, with the Wholesale Society, £5,000.

In the September quarter of 1877 the cash taken for goods sold was £23,800—substantial business was being done now. Well might Mr. Hilliard announce in the December following "that the society had been one continued increase quarter by quarter."

A pleasant account is given in the *Record*, in 1878, of social life at the Albert Street Tea and Coffee Room, opened on Saturday evenings. Mothers and children were there, enjoying the warm refreshments; the husband was at hand, reading the newspaper, others playing at chess and draughts. This year a Penny Bank meeting was held, when 150 children sat down to a tea. The president of the society, Mr. Hilliard, gave demonstrations in phrenology, supplemented by a wise and genial address, and told a charming story to the children.

In 1878 the dividend paid to members for the year amounted to £8,948. The dividend to non-members was £220. What a miracle non-members are! Every such person can become a member simply by consenting that the full dividend he will then receive upon his purchases shall be applied to the payment of a £1 share, which he will own, and receive 4 per cent interest upon it, and ever after he will be entitled to the full dividend. Thus, the non-members who now receive £220 would receive about £440. The wonder is that persons so needy and greedy as poverty makes them will persist in refusing £220 a year, which they might have. Such is the costly eccentricity of ignorance.

For years before this, since 1872, the *Co-operative News* was sold at each store and the profits divided among them to extend information among non-members. In some societies the education committee sell the paper at a halfpenny for this purpose.

But despite the stupidity of poverty, which in some quarters prevailed—the good fortune of the society advanced. The editor of the *Record* described 1877 as the most eventful and prosperous year in the annals of the society. Their extensive premises in Albert Street and Princes Street were opened, and new stores in Parliament Street and at Alvaston. That year the building department was active. That year all the departments, millinery, dress, and mantles, were flourishing. The sales for the year had been £98,000.

At the annual tea party in 1882 it was announced that the sales for the past year exceeded £101,000. The profit realised exceeded £6,600. In that year Mr. Hilliard was still president, and Mr. Swift, secretary.

The society, in 1884, about to erect 40 cottages in Cotton Lane, held a tea party in St. Dunstan's Schoolroom, lent by the courtesy of the Rev. C. H. Molineux. Mr. Scotton being called upon to speak on "Co-operation and Thrift," he argued that difficult as was saving to working people, it was possible to them. The profits realised by co-operative societies were proof of it. About that time Lady Manners had told the world that "many ladies spent £600 a year on their toilets alone, and £1,000 on dress, and £2,000 on flowers for a single ball." Though the upper classes, as they were called, set the people no example of frugality, the people must be an example to themselves. That was the policy of self-helping co-operation.

Such was the extraordinary growth and opulence of the society, that the leaders of the movement resolved to hold its sixteenth Congress there. The paramount success of the society justified this, and Mr. Scotton's summary of the position at that time well shows it.

The capital of the society now stood at £70,566. During the ten years between 1874 and 1884 the society had paid to its members dividends to the amount of £80,000. At this time, which was the Congress year, the year's receipts for sales were as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Grocery and Provisions	64,174	0	1
Meat	17,099	13	1
Drapery.....	5,104	8	1
Millinery	1,218	2	10½
Tailoring	2,653	13	0
Boots and Shoes	4,038	9	5



ROSE HILL GROCERY, OPENED 1872.



COTTON LANE GROCERY, OPENED 1875.



LITTLEOVER GROCERY, OPENED 1875.



MICKLEOVER GROCERY, OPENED 1878.

	£	s.	d.
Furniture	1,388	14	6
Jewellery	48	7	1
Coals, in Loads	3,998	0	8
Coals, in Bags	3,716	16	10
	<hr/>		
	103,440	5	7½
	<hr/>		

Profits realised during 1884 from all sources were £15,400. Subscriptions to charitable and other objects £78, to Education Account £104. Seeing that business folly nor ignorance could have made £15,000 of profit, £104 for education was certainly a limited concession. It was not understood then, that intelligence is an investment which pays the highest dividend.

But this year was memorable for the first recognition of the principle of participation in profits with employés. A recognition much in advance at this time (1900) of many societies of pretension and importance. At the quarterly meeting, Mr. Hilliard, the chairman, drew attention to the Seaton Delaval Society, whose trade with the store amounted to an average of £11. 11s. per member; but in Derby the average was a little over £5. 15s. per member. Mr. White pointed out that the Seaton Delaval Society traded much more with the Wholesale Society than the Derby Society did, which accounted for Seaton Delaval paying a dividend of 2s. 10d., while the Derby Society paid only 2s. There were other reasons in the case. Trading with the Wholesale was always a question of interest with the Derby members. Fourteen years earlier the society resolved that the number of shares in the North of England Co-operative Wholesale Society (which the society had joined in 1867) be increased in consequence of the increase in the number of members. The same year delegates were sent to the Wholesale Society meeting for the revision of their rules. This was the first time such delegation had been made. In 1889 the purchases from the Wholesale for one quarter were £8,852.

Still the society went forward as though the committee of management wore seven-leagued boots. Next year Mr. Hilliard, at the quarterly meeting, stated there had been an increase of members from 1,400 to 1,700 in the Children's Saving Bank. Again, in 1887, the chairman announced that the sales for the quarter had been more than £28,000, an increase of more than £500 in the corresponding quarter of last year.

Among almanacs issued by the society, that of 1888 was deemed the best, as indicating the success it recorded. It bore the title of "Victory." The society certainly had grounds for triumph. The success of co-operation had not only made its mark, it had written its name in full in Derby, in a legible hand and the cause was making itself felt throughout the county. Handel Cosham, M.P. for Bristol, suggested that "We might do away with half the public houses and use the other half as co-operative stores." The society had now grown more intelligent in 1888 than it was in 1863. At the invitation of the committee 150 employés sat down to tea in the large hall in Albert Street. In 1863 when the committee voted £5 that the employés and committee were to dine together on March 10th, on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' marriage with the Danish Princess "from over the sea"—the shops were to be closed and the shopmen to receive their wages. This was a graceful idea, honourable to the committee. But some unlovely member (such as existed in those days among the working class) who could not bear the idea that those who served them in the store should have any enjoyment, went among others who had, or were induced to take a like view, and got the vote of the committee disallowed, or reduced, at a meeting of members. That class who do not know how to be generous employers, were happily extinct in 1888, and the committee were able to invite 150 of those who mainly make the fortunes of the store, to dine with them. Under good management and good service, all departments of the store flourished. In 1890 the amount taken in the Drapery department alone for one week, at the end of November, was £403. 10s.

It is not possible to record in a portable book all the events and incidents of half a century. But a consecutive and brilliant table of progress can be given for a long historical period. Mr. Scotton, with no mean labour, has hunted up all the old, scattered, and forgotten balance sheets, and with Mr. Rest has succeeded in producing a table of the financial progress of the society for nearly 40 years. Some documents appear to have survived from which the position of the society can be indicated in 1862; but there are no means of giving accurate statements for the years 1863, 1864, and 1865. It is common in the earlier co-operative societies for the directors not to foresee the progress possible to them, nor to think that

their humble balance sheets in the beginning may be of interest in the future. Mr. Scotton's table shows the steady advance of the society for 34 years, under the instructive heads of members, capital, sales, profit, education, and charity.

DERBY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER, 1850. REGISTERED 1854.

RECORD OF PROGRESS, AS FAR AS CAN BE ASCERTAINED.

YEAR.	MEMBERS.	CAPITAL.	SALES.	PROFIT.	EDUCATION.	CHARITY.
		£	£	£	£	£
1862	1,385	2,148	22,185	1,639	None.	None.
1866	1,213	3,220	19,806	1,696	None.	2
1867	1,186	4,533	21,749	1,479	10	13
1868	1,231	5,562	25,689	1,584	38	.....
1869	1,291	7,138	28,030	1,867	37	.....
1870	1,371	9,169	29,036	2,023	38	.....
1871	1,612	10,129	40,308	2,828	None.	.....
1872	1,750	12,397	42,556	3,025	None.	.....
1873	1,796	13,903	44,471	3,427	None.	.....
1874	1,771	14,995	43,221	3,516	None.	.....
1875	1,992	19,783	52,176	4,815	None.	.....
1876	2,630	29,014	76,216	7,396	None.	.....
1877	3,381	40,785	98,907	9,489	92	69
1878	3,913	50,503	100,325	9,868	93	.....
1879	4,346	59,411	110,752	10,661	105	.....
1880	4,270	60,156	116,613	9,044	86	63
1881	3,973	66,906	101,422	7,256	73	.....
1882	3,705	66,765	101,905	6,793	66	.....
1883	3,947	70,566	103,440	9,401	88	22

YEAR.	MEMBERS.	CAPITAL.	SALES.	PROFITS.	DIVIDEND (Average for Year).		EDUCATION.	CHARITY.
		£	£	£	s.	d.	£	£
1884	4,357	77,371	104,477	10,914	2	1	101	166
1885	4,772	78,219	110,828	12,927	2	4	119	87
1886	5,173	83,860	109,127	11,325	2	1	132	109
1887	5,241	84,233	114,195	10,712	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	130	142
1888	5,531	84,900	124,520	14,274	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	162	50
1889	6,377	87,558	152,304	19,145	2	7	204	132
1890	7,330	97,240	180,204	23,676	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	235	104
1891	8,109	106,968	206,315	24,956	2	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	247	119
1892	8,132	111,780	213,919	24,916	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	246	201
1893	8,474	118,872	212,984	25,191	2	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	249	192
1894	9,168	129,031	231,961	28,839	2	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	286	140
1895	9,697	138,187	242,935	30,055	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	298	162
1896	10,350	145,893	261,598	33,872	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	336	169
1897	11,587	160,800	310,775	40,356	2	7	400	282
1898	12,460	174,062	327,223	41,939	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	415	269
1899	13,179	184,758	350,321	42,444	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	418	404
16 years' Totals ...			3,253,686	395,541	.....		3,978	2,728

In 1889 there were 6,377 members; in 1899, 13,179; an increase of 6,802.

In 1889 the trade was £152,304; in 1899, £350,321; an increase of £198,017.

In 1889 the profit made was £19,145; in 1899, £42,444; an increase of £23,299.

The reader has now before him a bird's-eye view of the progress of the Derby Co-operative Society. It is known that night birds have eyes twice as large as day birds; but a day bird can see the significance of these eloquent and informing figures.



The Origin and Growth of the Branches.

CHAPTER X.

IT was Petrarch (if I remember rightly) who apologised for writing a long letter, for the reason that he had not time to write a short one. I have taken time to give the reader so far, a short history of the chief events of fifty years' experience in the rise and growth of a great store. It is easier to be prolix than to be brief, yet brevity is a merit in this day of multitudinous activities, providing the brevity is free from obscurity. It is of no use to put a subject into a nutshell, unless a writer is sure that his readers are a species of intellectual squirrels, who have time and teeth to crack the nut. My object has rather been to hang the fruit of facts on branches which bend low down, so that the busy man can pluck it without trouble or delay. If even dainty fruit is hung too high, it will never be gathered, save by readers of forethought and enterprise, who carry ladders with them.

Fortune lies in wait for some persons, and befriends them on the high road. Before others the goddess retreats to a "two-pair back," where few find her. But the Derby co-operators found her secreted in stables and lofts, in out-of-the-way yards, and they had to go up narrow, steep, clumsy stairs, to find her. But since the Albert Street Stores were built, the capricious goddess has shown more taste, affableness, and courtesy, and is found now in front shops, and does not disdain to visit the branches, distributing her bounty there.

There is no doubt a science of Co-operative Agriculture which deals with the provision of select soil, and unadulterated seed, suitable for the germination of branches. There is an

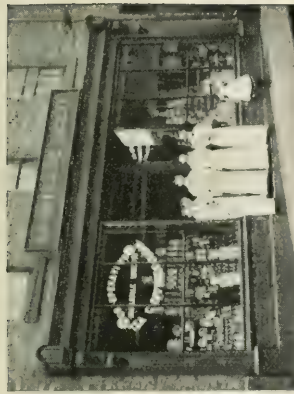
art of branch sowing, with well defined methods for the preparation of the soil favourable for the seed to take root in, and a knowledge of certain chemicals, of the nature of judicious speeches, calculated to nourish the seeds, and promote their growth. We have an Agricultural and Horticultural Association at Deptford, which deals with these things according to nature, which, however, have their similitudes in propagandism. The Derby Society have proved no mean masters of the art of co-operative agriculture. It is a difficult art, because of its newness, to learn and apply, but by perseverance, it can be acquired, and by skill and judgment great results can be obtained. If at the exhibitions at the Crystal Palace Festivals, there could be an Exhibition of Branches, Derby would take many prizes.

Nobody surmised that the soil of Derby was naturally favourable for this growth. But the Central Society sent out capable explorers and prospectors, who discovered Klondike deposits and South African gold fields of the co-operative kind, in Derby and its outlying suburbs, which no one suspected.

At first, branch sowing yielded but a thin crop, which scarcely showed its head above ground. But good tilling told, and at length local stores were like Topsy, who accounted for her existence by saying she knew nothing about being born, she "'spected she growed." Stores seemed to spring out of the ground, after Full Street, where the seeds of expansion were first sown. When the Carpenter Store first took in the public, the natural fecundity of the Derby soil was revealed and stores sprang up in many streets. No doubt when the plant was at last observed above the earth, it was tended and watered from time to time, until it attained self-sustaining development. The growth of Stores and Departments will strike the reader as manifesting wonderful spontaneity. Co-operative fertility became the marvel of the day. Dead leaders who stood up for principle while living, have potency after death, and it may be said of them, as was said of less useful saints, that their bones worked miracles at their tomb. The example they had set, the inspiration they had diffused, the co-operative seed they had sown, were found to have a self-raising capacity. It was finely said at a later period "Co-operation knows no frontier—it is meant for mankind." Experience shows it can be acclimatized in any city or town, in any district or in any land—where the people have



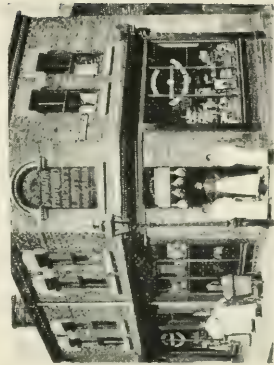
DUFFIELD GROCERY, OPENED 1876.



PARLIAMENT STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1877.



ALVASTON GROCERY, OPENED 1876.



PEEL STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1878.

discernment, zeal, and patience. The Derby pioneers, when they went into what Lord Hampton called "the open," planted orchards and ploughed fields, and, happier than the poor husbandmen in competitive regions, they gather the fruit they have grown, and reap the harvests they have sown. From minutes and the *Monthly Record* of the society, pages may be filled with many instances illustrative thereof.

As early as 1864 inquiries were made as to the feasibility of setting up a branch in Cotton Lane. In 1865 new Stores were still in the minds of the committee of management, who seemed like the typical man of business, to sleep with one eye open in order to see how the main chance is moving—the "main chance" with the committee was the chance of establishing new branches.

In 1871 the committee were empowered to purchase the piece of land at the corner of new street called Harriet Street. In June of the same year "cottages are to be built on the spare land in Harriet Street." In July, plans are ordered to be prepared for Rose Hill Branch. A year later the rent of the houses in Harriet Street is fixed at 3s. 6d. a week; and the Nun Street property is to be insured for £300, and the Rose Hill and Bridge Gate property are to be insured—Rose Hill property, building stock, and fixtures, for £1,150.

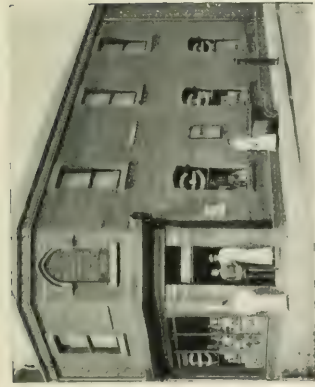
In 1865 "Cotton Lane was to be opened by a Tea and Public Meeting if rooms can be had." 1866, Store was opened at Bridge Gate. 1868, a Branch Store was to be opened in Abbey Street. In 1873 it was found necessary to make a thoroughfare through Thorntree Lane, and the committee are to consider how it can best be done. In 1875 "The shop at Allestree is to be taken. The Rev. Mr. Frith to be written to." In the same year "Land is to be bought in Parliament Street, belonging to Mr. Copstick, and a deposit is to be paid by the Estate Committee." In 1876 Mickleover Branch (the first branch mentioned in the *Monthly Record*) was opened. Mr. Hilliard was chairman of the meeting. The villages were calling for branches. A meeting was held in the open air at Duffield, addressed by Scotton, Swift, Garrett, and Eyre. Three members of the committee were appointed to inquire into the desirability of opening branches in the localities with which they were familiar—Littleover, Allestree, and Cotton Lane. In 1876 instructions were given to Messrs. Eyre and Garrett to take steps to open a branch store at Duffield.

Alvaston Branch was opened and celebrated by a large meeting. In 1886, Alvaston has done a trade of nearly £8,000, and has received in dividends £720. Duffield has received dividends of £728. Littleover has received £756. In that year Cotton Lane, which had been precariously mentioned in 1865, had attained to substantial notice. The chairman stated "they were building 33 houses on their Cotton Lane Land." In 1890 we read that "the New Shop built on the site of the old one in Duffield was opened." Again, in 1891, we are told that "the rebuilding of the Duffield Branch resulted in a great increase of trade."

The reader has seen similar notices to these in various pages. Indeed, they are scattered everywhere about the minutes and publications of the society's proceedings, but not repeated here, to obviate the monotony of their collected repetition. Mr. J. B. Rest, the secretary, has compiled me an excellent Table of the Branches, including the dates of their origin, their cost, the first and last year of their business, to September, 1899. The reader will find the Table at the end of this chapter.

The most picturesquely situated store is Bridge Gate. It occupies part of the old Toll Gate. Could we recall all that has been witnessed from those windows, what myriad memories of love and tragedy, intrigue, and business would be revived! What historic scenes has the Derwent presented upon which the Bridge House looks down! The date of the Bridge Gate house—the date of the Bridge is conceivable, but the Derwent is as old as England, and every yard of its banks has its romantic history to those conversant with its past. The building occupied by the store is irregular, with its make-shift rooms. Were it the property of the co-operators they would soon rebuild it, and make it convenient and graceful. Yet in such alterations as it has been possible to make, there are light and cleanliness. These excellencies of co-operative trade are to be observed in all the stores. In whatever state of confinement, confusion, and ramshacklement a building was found to be when the co-operative occupation of it began, changes were made as far as possible in respect of light, space, drainage, and ventilation. It will be seen in another chapter that the Building Department had always similar considerations in view.

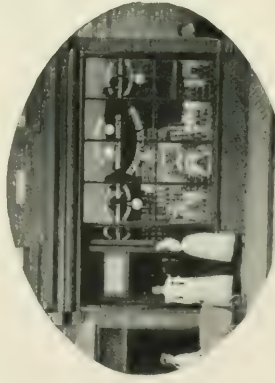
One or two societies were acquired which originated



DALE ROAD GROCERY, OPENED 1878.



SHAFTESBURY STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1879.



LEAMAN STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1884.



BURTON ROAD GROCERY, OPENED 1886.

independently, but without self-growing power, such as Little Eaton, taken over in 1896, and Spondon in 1897. Spondon had been in existence 23 years and Little Eaton 16 years when they were taken over, both at a valuation. Both were struggling little stores. Spondon and Little Eaton are two villages three miles from Derby. These societies were going down and would soon have been extinct. Now, as branches of the Derby Society, they are in a flourishing condition both as regards trade and profit.

There is the case of another addition to the list of branches. The Melbourne Society, seven miles from Derby, had been in a poor state for years and it is likely the members will lose all the capital they have in it. The Derby Society have agreed to take the society over, which will be done in this Jubilee year, and instead of having no dividend they will have the same as the Derby Society, which averages 2s. 6d. in the £. These societies are not annexed by any Bartle Frere process. No Rhodes and Jameson Raid is organised against them in Derby. Overtures from them are first made, a sort of William Penn Treaty follows and the interests valued and paid or guaranteed before their occupancy is effected.

The good feeling of cordiality and loyalty existing between the branches and the Central Society is due to wise, considerate, and to use a phrase common among diplomatists at this time—"tactful administration." In ill-governed countries there is always a party who are "against" the government, because the government have always been against them. In Sicily there is the Mafia Society which represents an unorganised but perennial hostility to the governing class and all its ways. In Naples there are the Camorra, a like irreconcilable class who are unappeasable, because they are hopeless. There are no Mafias or Camorra among the 37 outlying branches. They have all one interest of common privileges and common advantages. There can be no better tribute to the wisdom of management with which their affairs are conducted.

The creation and federation of branches is the sign of a great society possessing the propagandist spirit. The object of this chapter is to give the reader some adequate conception of the extent to which this work has been accomplished. Every branch has a history of its own, did space permit of it being written here, a delightful and instructive book might be made, by recounting in detail the origin, vicissitudes, growth,

and fortune of branches, and the men who built them up. A deserved recognition in co-operative annals is due to them.

The numerous branches and departments all have managers and assistants, and on their good sense, willingness, and courtesy, the welfare of the society depends. The success of a branch is largely owing to the manners, patience, and willingness, of those in charge of its business. Purchasers naturally expect consideration as well in the shop of their own, as in the shop of a private trader. Every customer is of the nature of a patron, custom supports the movement in commercial respects, and he who gives his custom, helps in making the business profitable. A forbidding countenance, irritability, or impatience, on the part of those who serve, soon alienates purchasers, who will not go where they think themselves unwelcome or troublesome. A thoughtless remark which gives pain, will create dislike, sometimes a mere tone will do it. Of course the duty of being equable on the part of servants who are as busy as they can be, is very difficult, and this constitutes the great merit and value of those servants, who possess and exercise these qualities. They make the fortune of a branch. Officers of this character deserve great praise and permanent appreciation. In the early days of co-operation, the managers and shopmen had co-operation in their hearts, and their geniality was so natural to them, that purchasers liked to go to the store, they were made to feel that the shop was their own. The contrast between buying there, and in the shops to which they had been accustomed, was very pleasant to them. Those who served were not merely the servants, they were the friends of the customer. Business was not competition, it was fraternity, the movement owes everything to its managers and servants.



WILMORTON GROCERY, OPENED 1890.



WALTER STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1897.



PRINCES STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1896.



OSMASTON ROAD GROCERY, OPENED 1891.

NAME OF STORE.	DATE OPENED.	COST.	FIRST YEAR'S BUSINESS, UP TO END SEPT., 1899	LAST YEAR'S BUSINESS, UP TO END SEPT., 1899
Park Street - Grocery	July, 1861.	£ 520.	7,000.	£ 8,935.
Nun Street	July, 1862.	483.	4,500.	6,504.
Bridge Gate	May, 1866.	Rented.	2,000.	4,785.
Abbey Street	May, 1868.	309.	1,260.	6,128.
Rose Hill	April, 1872.	362.	2,440.	16,207.
* Albert Street - { Grocery, Butchery, Drapery, { Boots and Shoes.	January, 1871.	10,624.	17,800.	79,189.
Cotton Lane - Grocery	July, 1875.	1,209.	2,560.	3,040.
Allstree	August, 1875.	Rented.	1,250.	Closed Sept. 1881.
Littleover	August, 1875.	Rented.	1,436.	....
"	1888.	1,082.	....	2,934.
"	August, 1876.	Rented.	1,880.	....
"	August, 1893.	612.	....	3,139.
"	1876.	Rented.	1,300.	....
"	1885.	1,312.	....	4,206.
"	1876.	Rented.	1,120.	....
"	1890.	694.	....	3,144.
"	February, 1877.	709.	4,600.	7,479.
Parliament Street	September, 1878.	Rented.	....	Closed Sept. 1879.
Ashbourne Road	November, 1878.	414.	3,800.	9,741.
Dale Road	October, 1878.	611.	3,900.	8,121.
Peel Street	February, 1879.	660.	3,800.	8,004.
Shaftesbury Street,	March, 1884.	787.	1,298.	4,841.
Leaman Road	January, 1886.	467.	2,493.	6,740.
Burton Road	August, 1886.	1,231.	1,777.	6,149.
Princes Street	November, 1887.	452.	2,304.	5,444.
Walter Street				

*Including Exchange Street; Grocery and Butchery transferred to new buildings in Exchange Street.

NAME OF STORE.	DATE OPENED.	COST.	FIRST YEAR'S BUSINESS.	LAST YEAR'S BUSINESS, UP TO END SEPT., 1899.
		£	£	£
Exchange Street — Grocery and Butchery, Paint and Stationery, Furniture.	1890. 1895.	9,673.	....	....
Wilmorton — Grocery	January, 1890.	844.	3,906.	6,349.
Osmaston Road "	September, 1891.	634.	5,204.	5,255.
Dairy House Road "	October, 1892.	1,586.	4,931.	8,427.
Bakewell Street "	February, 1894.	569.	4,445.	6,755.
Old Nornanton "	October, 1896.	1,037.	3,676.	3,932.
* Little Eaton "	December, 1896.	734.	2,140.	2,980.
Violet Street "	April, 1896.	538.	5,355.	8,115.
Brough Street "	April, 1897.	532.	3,972.	5,038.
† Spondon "	July, 1897.	1,263.	5,682.	6,000.
Little Chester "	September, 1898.	732.	3,727.	....
London Road "	January, 1899.	1,651.	4,403.	9 months only.
† Park Street — Butchery.	1867.	....	3,000.	....
Peel Street "	August, 1878.	Rented.	972.	3,139.
" "	1888.	207.	....	2,325.
† Shaftesbury Street "	February, 1879.	660.	1,900.	2,545.
† Cotton Lane "	October, 1880.	....	....	Closed Dec. 1885.
† Nun Street "	May, 1887.	....	1,108.	1,272.
† Walter Street "	November, 1887.	452.	944.	1,238.
† Rose Hill "	1877.	....	2,100.	....
" "	1890.	734.	....	5,735.
† Wilmorton "	June, 1890.	....	1,288.	1,415.

* Purchased from the Little Eaton Society. † Purchased from the Spondon Society.

† Part of Grocer's Shop.



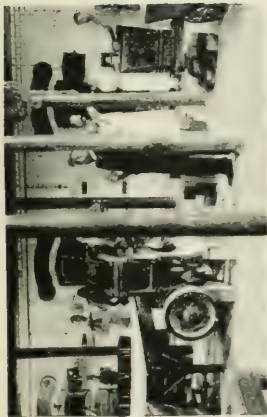
The Departments.

CHAPTER XI.

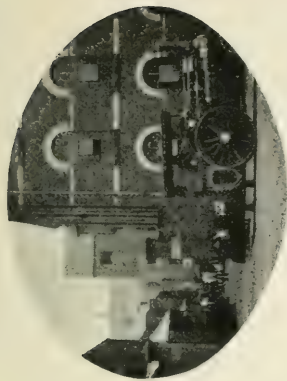
IT is now time to give some information concerning the rise and growth of the Departments of the Society. A store will not generally grow unless somebody makes it. A department grows of itself. When stores arise they soon acquire appetites, and have to be fed. This implies a commissariat, and a commissariat has several departments. We enumerate, as follow, the principal ones.

1. BAKERY.—Pledged to provide pure food, to the utmost of their ability, as well as guarantee honesty in measure, the Derby co-operators were always conscientious in their endeavours to fulfil these conditions. It is this pledge and this care which have been the strength and allurements of co-operative custom. In the rapacity and deception of competition, which, though not universal, is so general that the customer in the street is often uncertain into which shop to turn. Care taken in ascertaining the qualities of whatever was sold to the members was, from the beginning, a feature of the Derby Society.

In earlier years, at Park Street, the precaution was taken of having samples of bread made from different kinds of flour, when the directors resolved themselves into a Tasting Committee, and decided from which flour their bread should be baked. We have seen that the ingredients to be used in cakes, baked for festive parties, were carefully considered in committee, and their proportions decided upon. In the



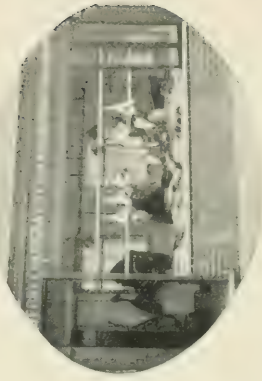
BAKERY, MONK STREET.



No. 3 BAKERY, MONK STREET.



No. 2 BAKERY, MONK STREET.



KING ALFRED ST. BUTCHERY, OPENED 1897.

committee-room of the society a visitor saw, 35 years later, large buckets of good-looking bread on trial, baked from seven kinds of flour. The loaves were sent there from Monk Street Bakery, for tasting by the managing committee, showing that unto 1899 there had been no remission in this creditable precaution and care.

In 1861 (and for some years later) there existed a "Bread and Flour Society" at the bottom of St. Mary's Gate, and the co-operators were naturally drawn to it. But as it did not fulfil the conditions they thought desirable, they therefore (November 29th, 1861) came to the conclusion "That its productions were not satisfactory, and recommended to the quarterly meeting the necessity of throwing the orders open to the public." In January of the following year (1862) the committee resolved to advertise for bread, and to give the Flour Society due notice to discontinue sending any further supply. Private bakers were tried for a time, as some of the committee were timid of taking any forward movement. With present-day experience, it is amusing to notice how hesitatingly the committee moved onwards. It was not until the end of the year (December 25th, 1862) that they made up their minds to take a bakehouse in Canal Street, at the rent of 1s. 6d. a week. Certainly, the risk was sufficiently limited to allay the perturbations of the most anxious. A baker was engaged at 18s. a week, and the society began to make its own bread. This could hardly do otherwise than prove a paying step, seeing the society had then three stores (viz.: Full Street, Park Street, and Nun Street). In January, 1863, it was proposed "That a man be spared from Park Street to take the bread to the other stores." The bread trade could not help but increase as the members of the store increased, and in January, 1865, the committee appeared with a virgin flush of courage in their faces at a quarterly meeting, which resolved upon erecting a bakehouse at the Park Street Store. Mr. T. R. Brown had part in the erection of the first bakehouse owned by the society. By 1869 intrepidity had become ambition, and in June of that year the question was raised as to the desirability of more central premises. Thirty-two votes being given in favour of this proposition, and thirty-one against it, the question was therefore adjourned to a special meeting, at which it was decided to buy land in Albert Street, where a bakery could be made.

The Albert Street premises, as the reader knows, were opened in 1871. The bakehouse was constructed in the basement, which extended under the present restaurant and boot shop. Ultimately, the Monk Street Bakery was erected and superseded all others. The early co-operators were well among the abbeyes, nuns, and monks, having stores in streets of those names. The society was beginning to see by electricity now, when they built their bakery in Monk Street and started it with six continuous ovens, which were the wonder of the members. They soon had at work a new Lindop machine, capable of mixing 220 sacks of flour a day. They built large warehouses for stocking flour, with flour hoist, steam engine, piggeries (never to be left out of mind) at suitable distances, residence for the foreman. A patent centrifugal dough-kneading machine was in due time fixed in the bakehouse. It was adopted from the increased demand for bread, and also because it superseded the plan of mixing by hand, another instance in which machinery ministers to purity, as the ballot box did to political morality. Mr. Abbott is the efficient foreman of the bakery. The great bakehouse fulfils the essential conditions of convenience and cleanliness. There are bath-rooms and dressing-rooms for the bakers, where the daily change of attire can be made. There are, in fact, two distinct bakeries, each three storeys high, where 8,800 stones of bread are baked in one week. In one room there are ten ovens. There are oat-crushing and hay-chopping machinery, excellent stabling, spacious and well ventilated; sanitary conditions being essential in every place connected with the preparation of food.

The editor of the *Monthly Record* gave an interesting article on baking ovens, which, he believed, came, like the wise men, from the East. Before ovens were invented people had to cook like the gipsies, who put the hedgehog, the hare, or the fowl they had "conveyed," in a coating of clay and placed it on the fire. When the cooking was completed, feathers, prickles, or fur came off easily, and the flavour was as perfect, as the Emperor of China, according to Charles Lamb, found roast pig cooked by burning down a house. The Monk Street Bakery strikes a stranger as a very large structure, which, with the builder's yard adjoining it, occupies nearly a whole side of a street of considerable length.

A Corn Mill was established in Leicester, 1877, by the federative aid of several surrounding co-operative societies, the

chief of which was Derby. As it was financed by co-operative societies it was called a "Co-operative" Corn Mill, but not in the sense in which a store is co-operative—since it gave the workpeople no interest in its prosperity. The enterprise of the Derby Store in co-operative endeavour, is shown in the fact that they became a large shareholder in the "Midland Federal Mill," besides making a loan of £1,000 to it. The engine and shafts were of the best quality, and were supplied from the works of Josiah Gimson and Co., large engineers of Leicester, at a cost of £2,250. The total cost of the mill was near £12,000. At the annual meeting, 1878, Mr. Amos Scotton, president of this Midland Federal Mill, was presented with a copy of "Old England's Worthies" by the educational department of the Leicester Co-operative Society. It seems that now and again societies act pretty much like individuals, and sometimes fail to support their own business, in store, or mill. Mr. Scotton resigned his presidency because of what he regarded an illegal action on the part of the committee. Whether the mill suffered by want of enthusiasm on the part of its workers and managers, who, given no co-operative interest in its welfare, is unknown. The Star Corn Mill at Oldham, the Halifax, Sowerby Bridge, and others accorded no share of profits to its servants. The reason usually assigned is that the workmen are few and the capital employed is large, and no proportion can be established. But the profits made by shareholders is always limited, and it is easy to put all who labour in the mill on the same footing as the shareholders. If there is the will there is the way. In the past year, 1899, the bread produce of Monk Street was equal to 1,664,000 quartern loaves, and confectionery of the value of £10,400. Everywhere an enterprising bakery creates delicacies for the store and develops purveyor taste.

A bright store is the same to purchasers as the house of call is to workmen, as David Urquhart designed Turkish Baths to be. The brightness, cleanliness, and variety of things in a store, educate the taste of the purchasers as well as proving inviting to them. This is especially so where the dainty produce of the bakery is displayed. An observing trade poet writes:—

"Of all the kinds of men there are,
The chemist is precisest far.
Though but a halfpenny you spend,
He treats you like his dearest friend ;

He stands beside his tiny light,
 And hurries not a bit,
 And folds the paper smooth and white,
 And sealing—waxes it,
 And hands it to you with the air
 Of one who serves a millionaire."

All this is as possible (where there is time for it) to the store keeper as to the chemist. There is luckily not so great a demand for the apprehensive drugs of the chemist, as for the happier commodities of the store. Thus the store keeper has less time on his hands; but if taste be in his heart and courtesy in his manners, he may make the purchase of the glories of the bakery very exciting.

2. THE DAIRY.—Creamery is to some a prettier name than dairy, though a dairymaid has unperishable charms. What is more delightful than her spirited and sweet sauciness when crossing the field with her milk pail? Her coxcomb wooer says—

"Then I can't marry you, my pretty maid."

"Nobody ~~waxed~~ you, sir," she said.

But creamery has a mellow, soothing, delicious sound. We read of a certain Jael who brought Sisera milk and butter in a lordly dish. The like can be had at the Spondon Dairy, without the nail and the hammer of Jael.

The society bought a creamery and land at Spondon in 1894. They have planted a portion of the land with fruit trees. In their dairy there is to be found the most modern machines with which to prepare its products. The milk they purchase from the farmers, to whom they are good customers. In the summer the dairy workers make from 900 to 1,000 lbs. of butter a week. The working plant they possess would enable them to turn out double the quantity. There are not many societies in the movement making the amount of butter they produce.

Dairying was counted quite a new departure when first commenced by co-operative societies. It is fortunately spreading now, but in many places it requires a large plant and considerable resources. It can be better carried out by large farmers than small ones. Societies, sure of a large consumption, are more likely to succeed; but it depends greatly on management, the possession of dairy knowledge, and knowledge of locality. The most active co-operators are commonly



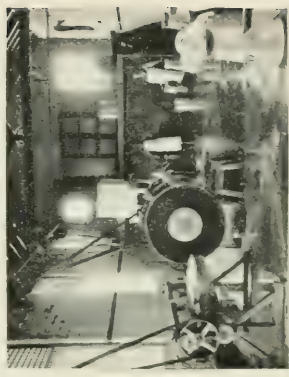
No 1 DAIRY, SPENDON, OPENED 1894.



ROSE HILL DRAPERY, BOOTS, AND BUTCHERY.
OPENED 1894.



BUILDING YARD, WERBURGH STREET,
OPENED 1894.



INTERIOR OF No. 2 DAIRY, SPENDON.

those of the artisan class, to whom dairy knowledge is much unknown. Meat selling was at once successful in Sheerness, 80 years ago; while many stores since, as in Rochdale, for instance, it took a long time, and encountered many failures before the directors there succeeded in making the meat department pay. Dairying, as a rule, has many difficulties, but it will, doubtless, prove a profitable department to many stores, when the difficulties are overcome. The Derby Society knew from the first how to surmount them.

The society has two restaurants where much of its dairy produce is sold—one in Albert Street, before referred to, opened in December, 1890, and one attached to the London Road Store—opened in January, 1899, near the Midland Railway Works. It is filled for breakfast and dinner by their workmen. The dining-room is spacious, convenient, and cheerful, and a credit to the store.

At the Spondon Dairy the butter is made which is supplied to the store. The value of the dairy plant is £2,450. The year's produce for 1899 was in value £5,533. The produce is sent to the society's shops and sold to the members—milk is obtained from the farmers by contract.

3. THE MEAT DEPARTMENT.—After what the reader has seen related in earlier chapters, he will conclude that a Pork Preparing Department was very early in the mind of the committee.

The art of buying is very different from the art of selling. To sell, all one has to do is to find out what a customer will like, when he gets it. The art of buying consists in finding out what he ought to like from its excellence. The committee very early (April 2nd, 1873) had practical notions on this business, and gave instructions that, "when secretary and superintendent go to market with the meat buyers, they must first deliver to them, in writing, the number of beasts, or other animals to be bought." A necessary instruction, and in its day a prudent one. The market has its ambitions and allurements which justify attention and precaution. Derby, as visitors know, has a large cattle market. At the back of it are a large number of abattoirs, owned by the Corporation. Abattoir is the French word for "slaughter-house," which however inevitable, is not a scenic place, which any reader wishes to have recalled, or to dwell upon. These abattoirs can be rented, and the co-operative society holds three,

numbered 55, 67, and 74. These chambers are fitted up with every requisite which humanity, sanitation, and business require. It has always been counted a victory of management in any society to make the sale of meat pay. Like dairying, it needs special knowledge, and experts are not easily found nor easily reared. The success of the Derby managing committee is seen in their last year's business. The number of animals converted into food were, cattle, 1,341; calves, 143; sheep, 3,163; lambs, 240; pigs, 2,080; total, 6,967. Curing, mincing, and the various preparations common to the meat trade, are parts of the society's business. All things succulent are wholesome after their kind, save where cereals and fruit are better.

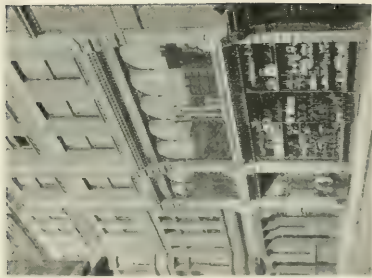
4. THE COAL TRADE.—Mr. George Iles in his remarkable work on "Flame, Electricity, and the Camera," describes how familiarity with the affluent use of coal, prevents our appreciating the origin of fire—the first discovery of a new force in nature; a discovery which eventually changed the whole aspect of the world and made society possible. A fireless world is a savage world, and in Torrid and Arctic zones alike, man had to live on raw meat or on field foods, cooking was impossible. The first savage who made a flame by the friction of two sticks, put a new power into the hands of man which made it possible to mould metals, create tools; and afterwards by flame came steam. Coal itself was dead, until flame came to ignite it, and give it universal life.

Coal, the ebony child of the Sun, has always been a popular subject of barter. The society's coal trade was commenced in 1863, by a quaint businesslike declaration, characteristic of the early providingness of the co-operators, namely: "That we begin in the Coal trade, and members wishing to have coal must pay into the store sums weekly, until sufficient capital is raised, then the committee will advertise for the quantity required, deposits to be made at the Stores on Mondays and Tuesdays."

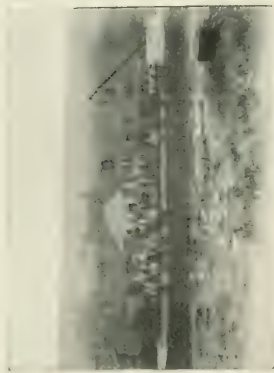
Scattered records in the minutes show how the coal business grew. On "August 23rd, 1871, the rent of a wharf, and price of land adjoining to be ascertained." On May 28th, 1873, another coal boat has to be bought. "Mr. Rigby is to be written to, to learn the price of his boat and when it may be inspected." Year by year the trade expanded, boats, wagons, and horses increased. In 1885 the sales of coal were over 14,000 tons.



STABLES, MONK STREET.



CENTRAL HARDWARE, EAST ST., OPENED 1897.



COAL DEPOT, NOTTINGHAM ROAD, OPENED 1868.

The society has three coal depôts, one at the City Road Railway Wharf, one at the London Road Railway Wharf, and the third in Nottingham Road, which is for barges only. All are busy with unloading barges, or starting wagons on their daily and hourly journeys.

Better than in any detailed enumeration, the magnitude of the coal department and the affluent possessions of the society, are shown in the statement that there are four barges, 28 horses, and 36 wagons, and the railway companies' wagons also used in the coal trade; and 44 workers, besides casual assistants who are employed in emergencies of business. Horses abound—the society has 65 horses in all, including the coal with other departments. The sale of coals yearly may be set down at 40,000 tons. For the year 1899 the amount was 39,953 tons.

Mr. Purcell is the indefatigable chief coal manager, who sends out weekly 500 bags of coal, each weighing 1 cwt. Drays are constantly going about the town selling 1 cwt. sacks; and carts which deliver one or more tons at the houses of members. In 1899 there were sold 595,500 sacks, representing 29,775 tons; also 10,168 tons in loads.

5. THE BUILDING SOCIETY.—Every department has its necessity and value, or it would not exist. If there be one more important than another, in far-reaching consequences, it is that of building. Space, loftiness, light, ventilation, length of life, and cheerfulness are in the builder's hands, nor can the tenant ever escape from the influence of omissions in these respects, so long as he remains the occupier of the tenement. Besides, if the house be unsightly, it may affect the imagination and ideas of three generations of children, who may reside opposite, if the house lasts for 100 years. Of course, what the builder does is limited by the means of those for whom the tenement is built. But builders can do much, if they think of it. The houses erected by the building society are palaces of sanitation and convenience, compared with what would have stood in their place had the speculative builder put them up for profit. The Building Department is a distinguished feature of the Co-operative Society. It commenced in 1876 with the object of granting advances to members to buy, or build, houses for themselves. A few years ago the society itself started the business of builders, erecting houses for the members, and also the store business premises. The society have for years done painting houses and papering

rooms for members. They employ a large staff, and when the members pay for work done they receive checks to that amount, and get the same dividend as on their purchases in the stores. The building department has not erected many of the stores, but it built the freehold property of 51 blocks of premises for business purposes, costing £81,040. It owns also 68 cottages, which cost £14,479, and in addition it has advanced to members, since 1877, £220,000, so that the members, by paying easy instalments, become the owners of their own houses, and on these instalments there is now owing by members only £68,706, thus, the individual co-operators of Derby are now the absolute owners of £151,294 worth of freehold property.

The Housing Question now occupies the attention of municipalities. From figures recently obtained by Mr. J. C. Gray, it appears that 224 co-operative societies have built 7,956 houses, 16,082 have been built by members, with the aid of money advanced to them by societies—the total of co-operative houses built is therefore 24,038. The total cash advanced to members has been £3,402,206, and the total worth of these co-operative tenements is £5,147,526. These erections have been made under the best sanitary arrangement which science could suggest, improving the taste, as well as the health, of the occupiers. Life is longer, and diseases of every description less frequent among the residents, than formerly was the case in ordinary tenements.

When the society began street building in Derby, they gave names to the new thoroughfares that left no doubt in the mind of any visitor that a co-operative colony had settled there.

New Normanton is a populous suburb of Derby, composed mostly of new streets, of which five have been built by the co-operators. Derby Street tells its own story. Industrial Street has self-help in every syllable. Provident Street implies the thoroughfare of thrift. Co-operative Street has unity in its name, while Society Place joins Co-operative Street and Industrial Street together. The whole constitute the title of the "Derby Co-operative Provident Industrial Society." It is a real beehive town in which no drones are to be found. In Kelley's and other directories into which the reader may look, these streets with their unprecedented names are duly recorded.

When houses were erected the society wisely claimed the right of citizenship for the tenants. It was objected that the occupant could not vote until he had entirely paid for the house. The members claimed to be owners of the properties as soon as they obtained possession of them, and so long as they made their contract payments for them, according to the society's rules. While they continued their payments no one could turn them out (not even the society). They were owners by contract, and the judge conceded the validity of the argument, and thus the tenants were put upon the list of Parliamentary voters.

A member who owned two freehold houses, one of which he let, could claim a borough vote for the one in which he resided, and the county vote by reason of being the owner of the freehold of another house. All this seems simple enough now, but there was a time when it seemed both complex and contestable, and it says much for the sagacity and perseverance of the committee, that they established these claims on behalf of their tenants. The claim made some noise in Derby of its day, it being of local interest and also of interest to co-operative societies elsewhere. The case was decided in the County Revision Court by the Revising Barrister, Mr. Etherington Smith. The claimants were Frederick Hickingbottom, John Harber, Amos Scotton, Henry Pridgeon, and Joseph Jepson, who claimed to be on the register in respect of freehold land; they being all members of the Derby Provident Society, their claim was not likely to go unquestioned. Indeed, the case was three times adjourned. Mr. William Cooper, the Liberal agent, defended the claim with force and clearness. Mr. Holland, for the Conservatives, was fertile in technical and other objections. For instance, he cited Rule XX., relating to the government of the co-operative society, dealing with property belonging to a lunatic. Whether he thought membership of the society implied lunacy, or whether the claimant of a freehold vote was a lunatic, was not made plain. During a discussion of two hours every element of legal confusion was let loose, as is generally the manner of Conservative agents; the Revising Barrister, who had been in many technical mists before, saw his way to allowing the claim, which has never since been disputed.

The society has no vote for any of its property anywhere, as a society cannot vote in its corporate capacity. It holds

shares in the railway company and it can send one of its members to vote for it at half-yearly, or other meetings. There are many other societies, who do not, but might, hold railway shares, and thus extend their influence where it is sometimes an advantage to have influence. Before house building became a popular part of co-operative enterprise, Mr. Scotton wrote a paper upon the subject, which was afterwards published as a pamphlet by the Co-operative Union, and was thought to have considerable influence in turning the attention of societies in this important direction. In 1893, building operations took a more determined, or more official form. A building yard was opened, the same as at Leeds. Since when, stores have been erected for the society, or tenements for members. At the present time they employ bricklayers, joiners, plumbers, and labourers, 65 workmen in all. There is also a separate department for painting and paper-hanging. This department employs an average of 22 men; here also checks are given and dividends paid on all work done, an original and consistent device not elsewhere in operation, so far as is known. Certainly it is not commonly done.

The staff of workmen employed by this society are constantly engaged in building houses and allotting them to members for purchase by easy payments. Checks are not given on these payments made for the purchase of the tenement, but if any of the 14,000 members give orders to the building department for painting and paper-hanging, checks are given upon these bills when paid at the office, just as on store purchases.

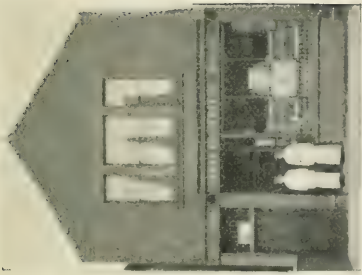




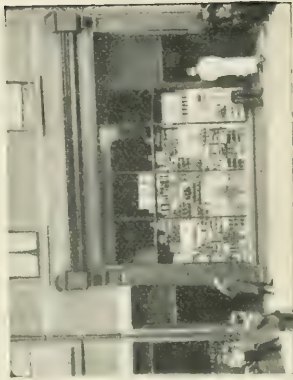
OLD NORMANTON BUTCHERY, OPENED 1896.



BAKEWELL STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1894.



LITTLE EATON GROCERY, OPENED 1896.



DAIRY HOUSE ROAD GROCERY, OPENED 1892.



The Monthly Manifesto.

CHAPTER XII.

THE literary history of the society may be read in the pages of the *Monthly Record*, which might be called the Monthly Manifesto of the Industrial Co-operative Association which it represents. In August, 1876, it was resolved to bring out a *Co-operative Record*, the first number was to appear in September, and to be printed by William Hall. The choice of editor fell on Mr. A. Scotton. A Monthly Magazine, or Herald, or Journal, or Record, or Reporter of some kind, is indispensable to a growing society. It is the local flag of the cause, the standard of the party, and though a flag of industrial peace, it is as worthy of pride and defence as a destructive flag of war.

The motto of the *Monthly Record* is a pair of hands joined together, accompanied by the legend, "Unity and success go hand-in-hand." Still, it is ever desirable to understand what the "unity" is about. Good sense and honest purpose should dictate the object of unity. Unity, like intelligence, is only excellent provided it is applied to a good purpose. Intelligence in contriving evil merely makes men into demons; but if exercised in compassing noble ends, it commands the admiration of mankind. So, unity depends for its merit upon the object for which persons unite. Knaves can unite as well as honest men, but the unity of knaves, or mere speculators, forestallers, or corner-men, is pestilential. Hence the necessity of Co-operative Records maintaining the advocacy, by pen or speech, which may inform members that unity is not a thing

standing alone, it must have honest purposes, noble aims, and justifiable objects. Then, when men mean well, the more unity there is among them the better. Right aims are the essential conditions of human effort, and unity is, as Bishop Hall would say, a silken cord, which runs through the pearl chain of high aspirations, binding them in sheaves of the golden grain of progress.

Though Co-operation means combined action, and necessarily looks forward to its success—the impulse which leads to it is individual. “It is most astonishing”—exclaims the editor, in an early number (September 1877) “that the bulk of the working class take no thought of the morrow. They most need this preparation for the future and consider it the least.” Prudence is seldom instinctive, it is the child of reflection. It is a new sense which the thoughtless do not possess. It is a merit in the *Record* that the editor seeks to create it. His words are “We say it advisedly, the help must come from within; it cannot come from without, for no government in the world, however wise its laws, or however impartially those laws may be administered, will ever be able to raise the man who has no desire to raise himself. It is precisely this sense of self-reliance which co-operation teaches.” All this is excellently said, and what is said is well known to all reformers; but it needs many repetitions and much attention from educational committees. To inspire the sense of self-help is mainly their business.

The value of a *Monthly Record* is that it enables the committee to communicate with the members when it cannot meet them personally. It furnishes the members with opportunities of expressing opinions and making suggestions, who might not find the opportunity of doing it at quarterly meetings, or who might shrink from the publicity of doing it if a relevant opportunity occurred. Besides, an observing editor can make it the medium of bringing before the members instances of outside action against them, or of local opinion against them, desirable for them to know, and of which otherwise they might remain ignorant and supine when they should be alert. Extracts from speeches in Parliament—speeches by prelates and notable persons and the citation of facts of interest may be made, which would engage the curiosity and attention at the fireside of the members. News of the proceedings of other co-operative societies, as well as the

progress of their own, renders the periodical record a means of comparison of methods and improvement in advocacy. The bird that flies through the castle hall, as the chieftain and warriors sit at table, and out of an opposite window into the darkness, leaves a trail of light behind it, telling of life and freedom elsewhere, which, though transient, awakens thought.

The editor in the first number gave a declaration of co-operative policy. He said:—"The *Record* was intended to be the means of spreading among the members clearer views of co-operative truth than the new adherents would be likely to entertain. Co-operation meant more than an organisation for obtaining dividends. Present and immediate gain was the first result of the simplest form of co-operation, whereas co-operation is one of the most important movements which is daily proving its principles to be applicable to every department of social and industrial life."

The *Record* which was commenced, as we have said, in 1876, was edited for sixteen years by Mr. Scotton. He vacated his editorial chair in August, 1892. He was voted £10 at a quarterly meeting in consideration of his lengthened service, which amounted to a trifle over twelve shillings a year, or one shilling a month. Considering the quality and quantity of writing done in the way of articles, and of prevision and revision of correspondence, it must be admitted that it was very moderate pay. Since that time and up to the present, the *Record* has been conducted by the educational committee, who receive no remuneration. 2,500 copies were printed of the first number. The Educational Fund was never large in those days, and giving the number away made that little less, and little could be afforded for conducting the paper. But the Educational Fund ought to be large enough to afford remuneration to those whose time, labour, and intelligence are confiscated in the interests of the society.

The conduct of the *Record* from the first showed that the editor possessed real co-operative knowledge, understood its principles, both distributive and productive. He showed that he cared alike for material and ethical welfare; it had equity in its head and fraternity in its spirit. In the second number of the *Record* he said:—"Labour's day of emancipation would come when co-operative production was as generally adopted as co-operative distribution is now. Then EQUITY and TRUTH will prevail in all business transactions."

All this is said in happy phrases. Nor was this vague evasion; it was definite, and meant to be so. He foresaw what many do not see now. "What we want," he said, "is that the accumulating capital of our societies should supply the means of co-operative production, in which the worker can take his position not only as a worker, but as a *partner* in the responsibility and the profits." This was said before "Co-partnership" was a recognised co-operative term. There are those who think that co-operative productions are articles produced by persons known as co-operators. But there is no co-operative production, save where the producer has a share in the profits as the capitalist and the consumer have. The editor of the *Monthly Record* was not only a chronicler, he was a counsellor, who had principle in his mind.

His first editorial dealt with work of the building committee, commending to their care "the ventilation of the houses erected for members, which should have lofty sleeping rooms"—a few feet more in elevation costs little in the building, but means health and extension of life to the inmates. The editor next reminds members that they can, by means of the store, provide themselves with houses. "Many members" he observed "had paid for their houses over and over again, and not a brick do they own." A co-operative township has arisen out of this trenchant advice.

Another thing which the editor, like Mr. Hilliard, seemed to have always at heart, was the prosperity of the Penny Bank. This is a branch for the formation of character which the smallest society is able to cultivate, and which no society can afford to neglect. To create the habit of thrift is to put a small fortune in the way of the child, for in after years when more money comes through his hands, the habit of saving is an endowment. The first missionary book the writer read, was a Wesleyan Magazine published at the end of the last century, it told a story of what occurred in a merchant's office, which he passed every day. It therefore impressed itself on the memory. Two mission collectors called upon the merchant to ask him for a contribution. While waiting, in an outer room their turn to go in, they overheard the merchant scolding a servant who had wasted a match. "It is no use waiting here," said one to the other, "we shall not get much from a man who thinks so much of a lost match, we had better go. "However," said the other, "as we have sent in our

names we had better see the gentleman who will wonder at our unexplained departure." They went in and on hearing that they wished a subscription for the Wesleyan Mission, "Oh! yes," he said, "I will give you ten pounds." They gasped with astonishment, or made some noticeable sign of wonder. The merchant asked why they seemed surprised, and they then "owned up" that when they heard him reproaching a servant for wasting a match they had concluded they would get nothing from him. "Ah! gentlemen," he replied, "if I had not taken care of my matches, I should not have ten pounds to give you."

An instance is given in No. 6 of the *Record*, that new branches were opened at times, on what may be described as upon public invitation. For instance, a requisition was sent in to the committee, signed by more than sixty inhabitants, asking that a branch store be opened in the New Zealand and Ashbourne Road district. At other times correspondents point out places where a new store would succeed. Members seem to have joined the committee in the pursuit of branch-founding.

In an early number, the editor gives a Bunyan-like dialogue on a dividend day. The characters are managed with considerable skill. Mrs. Grateful, Mr. Prudent, Mrs. Slowtothink, and others, whose quality of mind is indicated by their names, take part in an interesting debate. The originality, the native quaintness, and the polished brevity of the great Bedford Tinker is not a common endowment, but the co-operative dialogue on his model, is not wanting in humour and relevance.

The reports of meetings and the speeches made, contain passages of wisdom worth consulting again. The arguments with which co-operation was sometimes confronted, and sometimes assisted, in different stages of its progress, are curious and have instruction still. The society has passed beyond those stages, and the old arguments have lost their savour. They seem now flat, stale, and unprofitable, but they were valid in their day, and are heard again in the formation of new societies by persons but newly acquainted with the movement. It is wisdom ever to be patient with new inquirers. What seems elementary and of no use to those advanced in co-operative knowledge, is of cardinal importance to new thinkers.

In an early number of the *Record*, members were addressed on the importance of capitalising dividends. There occurred in it a passage excellently expressed and relevant to all stores

and to all time. The capitalising of dividends is urged in many persuasive sentences. In this way, by the capitalising of dividends, the opulence of stores has come about. While on the continent stores are mostly rented, in England they are owned, and frequently built, in what may be called, business splendour. It is the capitalisation of dividends which has done this. The wonder is that every member does not save his dividends, as an investment, seeing that he acquired the capital without effort and accumulates it without privation. He has only to buy at the store, which is no more trouble than buying elsewhere, and there is no effort in that. Seeing that he receives as large a quantity of provisions of more certain quality than the private trader can usually afford to give him, he therefore suffers no privation, while his savings increase.

Incidents of interest concerning branches have their place in the *Record*. Mention is made that when the new branch at Osmaston was opened, the shopkeepers issued a placard, or handbill, against the store, such as have been circulated elsewhere. Though sown broadcast, the spurious seed took no root. It did the society no harm, for £70 were taken the first week. The public understood very well that when one tradesman thinks it necessary to decry another, it is because the other is offering some advantages to the public which the complaining tradesman is unable or unprepared to give.

Pages of the *Record* are frequently varied by co-operative and other verse. The record of business is mostly monotonous save where it is triumphant. Details are often insipid to the general reader, until success imparts to them a flavour, when they prove very welcome.

Verse is always a charm in a journal, and relieves the monotony of prosaic facts. Not that facts are in themselves prosaic, they are sometimes full of wonder. That, however, depends upon the reader being able to understand them. All facts are not obvious in their import, and when their import is seen they are far from being prosaic. Mr. Cobden had an idea that all newspapers wanted were facts, and the *Morning Star* paid much attention to facts, but it did not prove popular reading. Mr. Cobden's wide, practical knowledge, and vigorous imagination saw a world of significance, which little interested persons with less knowledge than he possessed. If facts are explained when they are cited, so that the reader can see what the writer sees in them, they command attention.



G. WOODHOUSE, *President.*

There is as much poetry in "Euclid" as in "Paradise Lost," but the two kinds of poetry are very different in their nature. Poetry is new thought of a noble or delightful kind, or some new aspect of a thought, illumined by imagination, vividly expressed, measured, melodious, and memorable in its terms. It is true magazine verse does not often reach this standard, but it may convey useful ideas in a more beguiling manner than ordinary prose.

The *Record* was constantly enlivened by co-operative verse, though its material quality was never so conspicuous as to cause Tennyson, Browning, or Sir Lewis Morris anxiety lest they be overshadowed. Nevertheless, there is wisdom and pleasure in the lower regions of poetry; for instance—"Snow Flake" verse such as appeared in the *Record* in 1890. "Snow Flake Co-operation" is a useful and encouraging little poem. It is an argument in verse in favour of persons of small means, and who think they have little influence, combining together from the similitude of snow flakes, which singly appear to make no impression, but multiplied and combined prove sufficient to obstruct the movements of men, and even of railway engines. The grains of sand, and even the leaves of trees become substantial forces in combination, and even dew-drops have their uses. The summary of the argument is:—

"And so the snow flakes grow to drifts,
The grains of sand to mountains,
The leaves become a pleasant shade,
And dewdrops fed the fountains."

The "Bit of Land" is a co-operative poem, and is adapted to the taste of honest rural ambition. It is an imitation of Mrs. Heman's favourite poem "Where is the Better Land?" the co-operative adapter shows how the plot of land desired is found, situated in the Kingdom of Co-operation.

The late Mr. E. T. Craig, the first nonogenarian co-operator, was not a poet by nature, though he sometimes wrote verse. He contributed to the *Record*, January, 1880, a Christmas carol of the Leeds Society, which was the best example of his co-operative views. It might be reprinted by any store, with changes of name. It began:—

"In Derby Town they have a store,
That's selling fast, and trading more,
In things you wish to wear or eat,
From Boots and Shoes, to Bread and Meat."

These lines are not imaginative nor novel in phrase, but they were understood by that class of humble honest workers who most need the commodities which are the subject of Mr. Craig's verse. Then the lines proceed with an enumeration of the edible manufactured, and, what is not less important, the ethical treasures of the stores which are seldom described in so small a compass. The concluding lines tell that the Derby co-operators—

“Have raised a noble Public Hall,
Where science teaches truth to all,
These paths all workmen hence should know,
If wealth with social worth must grow.
The Lab’rer yet shall get his own
By self-employment—that alone
Will change the world, and haply then,
Bring peace on earth, goodwill to men!”

We learn in February, 1889, in the *Record*, that “one of the tellers at the annual meeting was named Samways.” Derby Society is the only one having a member of that name. Probably no member of the Sam Weller family, though the original from which Dickens drew that character was a co-operator well known in London. In the pages of the journal in question, valuable and ample reports of the proceedings of Congresses and of the proceedings at the Wholesale Society meetings by members deputed to attend them, readers were kept well acquainted with the life of the movement.

Many things met with in its pages bring back to the mind valued aspects of Derby long ago, when the first store was beginning to nestle in the George Yard. At that time the writer was the guest of Mr. Hagen, the Quaker, and his friends invited him to deliver lectures in the town. Hagen was himself a centre of progressive ideas, and Mrs. Hagen was the smallest and most fragile but the most animated little lady, Quakeress or otherwise, ever known. She was smaller than Madame Pulzsky, the wife of Kossuth's Prime Minister, and like her the little Quakeress had a soul on fire. Her intrepidity of ideas gave a stranger the best impression possible then, of intellectual vitality in Derby. The writer was a guest in her house when he held debate with Dr. F. R. Lees. At that time temperance advocates took no part in changing the social conditions of the people whose daily misery in workshop and poor habitations made intemperance seem a relief to many.

Caring then, as he always cared, for social means of elevation, he advocated co-operation as the most likely means to this end. Having in view a parliamentary remedy for intemperance, the advocates of that day not only distrusted any other means of reducing the evil, but derided all attempts that way. Every one sympathised with the sentiment expressed by Charles Lamb, who said if men could see the effect of excess they would

“Close their lips and ne’er undo them,
To let the deep damnation trickle thro’ them.”

While the suppressive remedy was in progress there was reason for using every means of mitigating the evil. Temperance policy has improved since the days of Dr. Lees in Derby. Sir Wilfrid Lawson has been its good genius.

The *Record*, March, 1879, reports a lecture by the writer to co-operators in the town; Mr. R. Hilliard presided. It is reported that he candidly confessed that in earlier years he did not think that Derby had the capacity of co-operation in it. Co-operation was defined as that policy of conducting business, whether of distribution, manufacturing, mining, or shipping enterprise, in which profits were equitably shared among all who, by skill of thought, or by skill of hand, or patient labour, contributed to produce them. He does not remember that that number of the *Record* was ever sent to him. He read it with unforeseen satisfaction for the first time on January 16th, 1900, twenty-one years after its delivery.

There are two kinds of reporters, one who reproduces literally what you say—sometimes a speaker does not desire to see again his exact words—and another order of reporters who summarises what you say and gives the entire sense, often in language of his own. Such a reporter must be to some extent able to make the speech himself. The ingenious editor who reported the speech must have known what the speaker intended to say, or better still, what he ought to have said, and took care that the report contained it. That is the kind of report a speaker most values.

The manifesto of the society is a mine of facts to those who can test their value. In the first February number a writer giving the familiar initials of “A. S.” cites the fact that cast iron sold at £1 per ton, when converted by labour into ordinary machinery is worth £5 a ton; into ornamental work, £45 a ton; into Berlin handicraft work, £660 a ton; into metal

buttons, £5,896 a ton. This incited C. D. Badland, M.A., to leap to his pen, and say that the capitalist helps to buy the tools, and feed the workman. But what is the use of being an M.A., if you can see no more than this? The capitalist merely risks his money, and sleeps while it is doubled and tripled by the toil of others, while labour contributes all its power and its life, and is lucky if he dies in the workhouse, which the poor-law guardians begrudge him. Without labour, the capitalist's money would go with him at last to where metal melts. At best, capital is not more than the half brother of production, and labour, the other brother, is entitled to at least half the profits of the joint undertaking. So, in the contest between "A.S." and "M.A.," "two to one" on "A.S." would be safe. In this journal of the "cause" these social tournaments are fought out before the readers.

In 1887, the *Record* was increased to eight pages for two months. In the Congress year it was increased to eight pages, and afterwards, with few exceptions, it continued to be eight pages. Later numbers have good quantity and quality in a coloured wrapper. It has grown with the society. It may be said to have been the means of helping the society to grow. Like the society, it has increased in importance and interest. On one occasion, the editor makes a vigorous outspoken defence of the policy of welcoming all contributory thought in the movement. All thought worth anything was free thought. Ideas of piety and politics of the most divergent kinds, were to be found in co-operative ranks. Individual freedom of conscience was never interfered with, and seldom obtruded. Official recognition was given to none. Only the principles of co-operation were official. All personal beliefs of other kinds had equal respect under the golden equality of toleration, which, ensures the unity which is at once, strength and peace. It may be said in lines quoted by the editor:—

“ Man, some unwrought difference sees,
And speaks of high and low,
And worships those, and tramples these,
While the same path they go.”





J. B. REST, *Secretary.*



The Derby Congress.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE Derby Congress—the sixteenth of the series—was memorable in two ways: (1) For its official presidential vindication of profit-sharing; (2) For being the occasion of the formation of a Co-partnership association which has since acquired extension and permanence.

It was expected that the distinction of the Derby Congress would be an Inaugural Address by Lord Shaftesbury. Unfortunately the years of generous and strenuous duty, which he had imposed upon himself, in the interest of unfriended workers, had too much impaired his health for him to fulfil the office of president. Lord Shaftesbury was a nobleman of two natures. In politics he would withhold power from workmen. In humanity he would withhold nothing from them which could do them good. In theology he knew no measure. Upon Professor Seeley's book, "Ecce Homo," he pronounced a judgment,* which would inevitably have handed over the luckless but liberal professor to Torquemada—the cruelest of all the inquisitors. Yet Lord Shaftesbury was so courteous, tender, and friendly to Dissent that he laid more foundation stones of Dissenting Chapels than any other man. Should England one day, like some other ancient kingdom, share the fate of lost civilisations and explorers come to it and excavate its ruins, they will come upon so many stones deposited by

*What the noble critic said was "The book was vomited from the mouth of Hell." Surely something ought to be done for the man who had made Satan sick.

Lord Shaftesbury and bearing his name, that they will write home and report they have discovered the English King of the last dynasty. Whatever contradictions the biographer may have to record in the character of Lord Shaftesbury, everything will be forgiven him in history by reason of his generous love and noble exertions on behalf of factory children, for whom he procured the Ten Hours Bill, and worked to improve the condition of women, as well as children, in mines and collieries. Public health, emigration, and ragged schools were subjects of his generous solicitude. Penny banks, drinking fountains, and model lodging-houses also engaged his kindly solicitude. Lord Shaftesbury was one of the earliest slum explorers. He was essentially and exclusively a social reformer, and took no part in political amelioration. He believed that working people only clamoured for political enfranchisement, because they were ill-used and uncomfortable, not because of any manly aspiration for such power as should enable them to have a political voice in the determination of their own destiny; just as the Christian socialist believed that alienation of working people from the Church was due to social hardship and neglect, and not to intelligent conviction of error of doctrine. We owe the noble service they rendered to co-operation to this belief—just as the working class owed Lord Shaftesbury's great services to a similar persuasion. There was undoubtedly a deep and honourable sentiment of humanity in the heart, both of the conservative, socialist, and Christian philanthropist. Just as George Eliot's "Adam Bede" and "Felix Holt" were Positivist Chartists, Kingsley's "Alton Locke" was a Churchman's Chartist. They were no more like the true Chartist than a hardy mountain plant is like a hothouse tulip. The Chartists to be met in conventions, who, like the writer, were taught by Francis John Arthur Roebuck and John Stuart Mill, had political independence, self reliance, and co-operation in their blood.

Lord Shaftesbury's sympathy with co-operators was a moral affinity. He expressed the opinion, which had little acceptance in his day, that the agencies for planting Christianity among heathen nations should include "the secular missionary who must precede the Christian teacher, to prepare the soil by social amelioration, before the seeds of Christianity could take root." As co-operation was devoted to the science of material betterment, Lord Shaftesbury did not hesitate to identify

himself with it. Like Faraday he had a dual mind. Faraday reasoned like a Sandemanian on questions of faith, and like a philosopher on questions of science. Lord Shaftesbury took, we have said, no interest in political progress, but in social progress he reasoned like a philanthropist.

In Lord Shaftesbury's absence, through failure of health, Mr. Sedley Taylor, M.A., of Cambridge, delivered the Inaugural Address at the Congress. If he did not invent, he had popularised that wholesome term of industrial advocacy—"profit sharing." Before, and since, we have had inaugural addresses delivered to Congress by Presidents who were half hearted as respects the participation of profit—by some who spoke with an evasive heart—by some with an alien heart—and by some with no heart at all. But Mr. Sedley Taylor had a whole heart on the subject, with nothing dubious about him. At the Leicester Congress (which preceded by a few years the one at Derby), Mr. Auberon Herbert spoke as an Individualist, to whom co-operative altruism seemed unknown. So little was he in sympathy with the principle of participation, which alone makes co-operation worth having (as all stores know), that he said, in his own salient way, that "he thought we must regard him as the 'Devil's Advocate.'" It fell to the writer to speak to the vote of thanks to him, who said that if it were true he was the Devil's Advocate, it proved the good taste and sagacity of Satan to send such an agreeable and seductive representative among us. Mr. Sedley Taylor who had nothing doubtful or Satanic in him—proved to be a substantial, straightforward advocate of the principle which made the co-operative movement and endowed it with a message to Labour, now heard in no uncertain tones, and in louder voice from year to year. This was the main co-operative distinction of the Derby Congress, especially as it was there the Labour Association was formed.

The Derby Society published a handsome little volume entitled the "Congress Guide Book." It was preceded by an illustrated historical survey of the ancient town of Derby and its environs, "All about Derby;" the historical part was a separate book by Edward Bradbury and Richard Keen which was incorporated, by arrangement, for information of delegates. Mr. Scotton was the author of the co-operative portion of the volume, which, enabled the delegates to understand the rise, progress, vicissitudes, and successes of the growing society

of co-operators, who were the liberal and courteous host of all who attended the Congress. It is a distinction for any society to attain a position which justifies it giving an invitation to the whole co-operative body to hold an Annual Congress in its midst; and it is a distinction to a society that its position should be thus officially recognised, and its invitation accepted. In justification of the society, the editor of the *Record* made a financial summary of its business from January of 1873, to the January of 1883. During that ten years it had received for goods sold the sum of £846,011. 11s., on which was realised a profit of £105,138. 1s., which had been divided as follows :—

Paid as Dividends on Members' Purchases.....	£75,667	3	9
Paid as Dividends on Non-members' Purchases	2,922	17	10
Interest on Members' Capital	19,222	19	5
Since 1876 for Educational Purposes	577	5	7
For Depreciation of Property	3,009	10	2
For Depreciation of Working Plant.....	3,735	4	3
	<hr/>		
	105,138	1	0

It will be of interest to the new members of the society if we here recount incidents of the Congress.

Pleasant Derby was filled early on Monday morning, June 2nd, 1884, with familiar faces. In every hotel in which a visitor looked to greet old friends he found groups of distinguished co-operators. Many had travelled during the night. Mrs. H. R. Bailey, Mrs. Benjamin Jones, Miss Greenwood, Mrs. Acland, and other ladies, had been in Derby during Sunday. On that day the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Southwell preached before the co-operative visitors in the Parish Church, and dwelt usefully upon the higher aims of co-operation in terms which gave satisfaction, instruction, and pleasure to the hearers. In the evening the co-operators had like advantages in listening to the Rev. J. R. Stevenson, who preached to them at St. Mary's Gate Chapel. His eloquent discourse was frequently spoken of afterwards by the hearers.

Mr. Sedley Taylor, as has been said, delivered the presidential address, which commanded great attention by its vivacity of delivery, and variety of facts, showing that participation in industrial profits was a commercial, moral, and industrial advantage.

The Bishop of Southwell and Lady Laura Ridding spent

Whitsuntide in Derby, and stayed at the Royal Hotel. There his Lordship received many visitors, and entertained at his own request leaders of the co-operative movement, including Mr. Robert Hilliard and Mr. Scotton. As Lady Ridding is a daughter of the Lord Chancellor, he attended the installation of the Bishop, and made a remarkable speech at a meeting of the clergy, intended for an audience elsewhere, worth repetition and remembrance. Lord Selborne said, "Freedom, and he thanked God for it, had now attained such a point of completeness in this country that every man might think and say, every man might publish, whatever he would, provided he did it with some decent respect to the feelings of others. Authority was a . . . less power in these days than in former times; things depended more upon convictions. All things were put upon their trial, and truths were being called in question. There were dangers of social disturbance, perhaps, all around them. How were they to be met? He thought he could see some things which were needful for the purpose. The first was complete, absolute, and determined justice to all men, to those with whom they differed most, and who were the antagonists of the truth they cherished most, absolute, unflinching, unswerving justice. The second point that was necessary was a self-sacrificing spirit of sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men, whether they spoke evil of you or not."

This, from a Lord Chancellor, was a noble charter of intellectual liberty. The Derby Congress will always be memorable for it.

Mr. Scotton delivered the address on the second day. Notwithstanding the many unceasing duties he had discharged in the interest of the Congress, he spoke with force and pertinency, and vindicated the society with great effect from local aspersers, who had sought to prejudice it during congress time. One anonymous adversary was "afraid the working men would lose half the capital they had in the store." He forgot, said Mr. Scotton, "that if they had not been members of the co-operative store, they would not have had a bit of capital to lose." He paid a just tribute to the local press of Derby, which has always dealt fairly and impartially by co-operators, treating them exactly as they would any other organisation in the town. Master of congress business, Mr. Scotton presided over its proceedings with marked efficiency.

Mr. Harold Cox (now the secretary of the Cobden Club) brought a letter from the Parisian co-operators, and the United Board were empowered to establish relations with French co-operators. Thus, the Derby Congress had also a feature of International Co-operation.

Mr. Purcell, a Wesleyan local preacher, read a half-alarming paper on the land question, which aroused Mr. Neale's conservatism, and he denounced the author without any tenderness. Certainly the tenets avowed would have compromised anyone, not a preacher. Mr. Purcell was, nevertheless, the author of a tract of interest entitled "Five Requirements of Co-operation." It appeared in 1877 and contains important suggestions—since acted upon. The writer had years ago the pleasure to be Mr. Purcell's guest, and very pleasant was the sojourn in his house. Mrs. Purcell was a most gracious hostess, as many at this Congress found, as she was one of the ladies, who, with Mrs. Scotton, dispensed refreshments at the soir  e.

Mr. Harold Cox, an adventurous student at Cambridge, made two communications to the Congress with confidence and distinctness. Mr. Bolton King, landlord of the Radbourne Manor Farm, made a short and welcome address. The paper upon the farm was read by Mr. Johnson, a solid, burly-looking farmer. The language was of great simplicity and precision, the similes pertinent and fresh from the farmyard. The homely rural voice of the reader, and his accuracy of delivery made an amusing contrast. The good sense and associative spirit expressed in the paper were more unusual still. Regarding the mastery of the subject and the completeness of the information given, it was difficult to remember any previous paper on farming which equalled it.

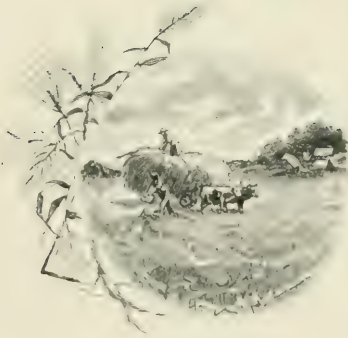
Ladies were more numerous than at former Congresses. It was felt that a real part of co-operation will be in their hands. Already one or more ladies were delegates and will very much increase the interest of the Congress when they become occasional speakers. Ladies have addressed the Congress in previous years.

One art feature of the Congress was supplied by Mr. Acland, who brought some instructive and cleverly drawn diagrams representing the vicissitudes of common forms of trading as compared with better security afforded by co-operation.



W. F. TOWNSON, *Treasurer.*

The Manchester Co-operative Printers brought one of Godfrey's gripper machines, which worked in a recess at the entrance to the Atheneum. Over it was a long placard bearing the words "Co-operation a Cure for Poverty." As the exhibition was free, country people came in, and they evidently thought we were curing poverty by steam, and pressed round the gripper with great curiosity. Photographs were taken of the Congress at the Arboretum, which must be a pleasant reminiscence now, both of the local leaders and visitors to the Congress, as the plate was remarkably distinct.





Some Makers of the Society.

CHAPTER XIV.

FORMERLY history used to record only the career of kings and leading chiefs in the field. Many of the generals were mere knaves on horseback bent on the annexation of other people's lands. Some, both kings and commanders, had merit and deserved a place in history. In these later days we have come to recognise the service, heroism, and devotion of the "rank and file" of the great army of progress—the "unnamed demigods" as Kossuth called them, whose bones lie in unnoted graves, but whose valour brought the victory. In co-operation all are workers, and many who are never named after their death, are honoured in their day and recognised in history. In a co-operative society all officers have been workers—and are officers because they have been workers. There is no privilege in co-operation, save that of service. This chapter contains brief biographical notices of men who have been conspicuously makers of the society.

If truth were told more at length and space were greater, many women would have a place here. No men could make the sacrifices they do for the advancement of the cause, were it not for the tolerance, or goodwill, or aid, of their wives. The good a man may do is a good deal dependent on the acquiescence of his wife, who often suffers neglect that he may pay more attention to the welfare of others. There will in the future be recognition of women in public and co-operative affairs, where, hitherto, all honour has alone been given to men. When Mrs. Laurenson first proposed Women's Guilds, and Miss Greenwood joined in promoting them, few, save they, had

any belief in them. They are now an important propagandist force in the co-operative movement. All who work for a society and are true to it, are makers of it. The following makers of the Derby Society have well earned places in this Jubilee History.

Mr. John Riley was born July 9th, 1835, in Leicester, and was the oldest of fifteen children. On coming to Derby, he obtained a situation in the locomotive department of the Midland Railway. In 1859 he joined the society, and was elected a member of the committee in 1867. In 1870 he became chairman. The increase of business rendered a manager necessary, and he was unanimously appointed to this office at an election in May, 1872, and held it more than fourteen years. He was one of the most earnest, diligent, painstaking officers any society ever had. He was always to be found at his post, and when the committee pressed him to take relaxation, he always declined until the year of his death, when he took a holiday in Germany and returned to his duties in excellent health. During the time he held office the society opened twelve branches. Mr. Riley's life had a tragic ending. He was killed in 1886 before the Albert Street Stores. He had dismounted from his trap, when a brass band in the street startled the horse. Mr. Riley led him a little way to soothe him, when the noise continuing, he suddenly took fright, knocked Mr. Riley down and ran over him. He died in a few days from the effects of his injuries, to the lasting regret of the society which he had served so well.

Mr. Robert Hilliard, the manager of the society, is a native of Derby, and is essentially a self-made man, the best order of men extant. He began life in a position from which only one of a strong nature could emerge; but by perseverance, integrity, and hard work, he has attained to a position of distinction and honour. On May 5th, 1862, the name of R. Hilliard appears in the minutes of the committee. No other name of Hilliard appears until April 16th, 1866, when Robert Hilliard was first elected a member of the committee. He was at that time a fitter in the employ of the Midland Railway Co. He was soon elected chairman of the Committee of Management, which office he held eleven years. Up to 1876 the committee elected the president each quarter, from among themselves. An alteration of rules left the election of president with the members at the annual meeting. Mr. Hilliard was

the first president elected under these rules. In 1886 he was appointed manager of the society's stores, in succession to Mr. Riley, and so successfully has he performed the duties of that office, that for the fourteen years ending December last, the net profit made has been £371,318. Mr. Hilliard was a member of the Board of the Midland Section of the Co-operative Union for eight years, and only resigned that office when he was appointed manager. Like Mr. Woodhouse he is an eloquent and effective speaker, and was continually in request at societies' festivals and meetings, often delivering addresses of use and brightness and power, as has been incidentally recorded in preceding chapters.

Mr. Amos Scotton stands also in the first rank of the servants of the society. He joined the society in 1858, thus comprising a connection with the society of 42 years, for, with the exception of a few months, he has been a member of the society since 1858. So far back as 1859 he was appointed assistant secretary. In 1863 (described as then residing in New Street) he was elected a member of the "Committee of Management"—a title peculiar to this society, which continues to this day as the name of the committees—the term Directors not being used. He received on that occasion 128 votes. In 1875 he was president of the society. In the same year he was elected a member of the Midland Section of the Central Co-operative Board. In 1877 he became its secretary. This office he held until 1891, when he retired from the Board. In 1890 he was elected on the committee of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, which office he holds at the present time.

He well remembers the time when the receipts of the society were but £150 per quarter, and he often refers with pride and pleasure to the fact that he has lived to see the receipts £95,677 per quarter; a progress remarkable, if not unprecedented, in the history of the movement. He hopes to live to see the sum £100,000 a quarter. Mr. Scotton, besides editing the *Monthly Record* eleven years, was the continual promoter of the society. He willingly fulfilled any duties to which he was appointed, without hesitation, manifestly considering himself as a servant at command of the society whose progress was his continual incentive. In addition to constant official work, he had made countless speeches and addresses to this and other societies. When he ceased to be chairman of the Federal Corn Mill in 1878, Mr. Chadwick,



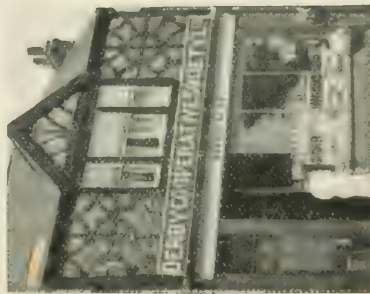
SPONDON GROCERY & BUTCHERY, OPENED 1897.



BROUGH STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1897.



VIOLET ST. GROCERY & BUTCHERY, OPENED 1896.



CHESTER GREEN GROCERY, OPENED 1898.

chairman of the educational committee of the Leicester Society, made, as we have recorded, a presentation to him as "a memorial of his striking and instructive address on 'Co-operative Cottage Building,' delivered before the Leicester Society, and and in testimony of his usefulness and long and zealous labours in the co-operative movement." Now, 22 years more of similar service have to be added to his long and distinguished record. Those who wish to estimate the work of Sir Christopher Wren, are told on his monument in St. Paul's Cathedral, "to look around." Those who would form an idea of Mr. Scotton's services to the Derby Society may look through these pages where they are again and again mentioned, under the circumstances in which they were rendered.

Mr. George Smith joined the society in the spring of 1858, when the stores were situated in Victoria Street, doing a business of £130 per quarter, or an average of £10 per week. At the end of 1859, the business was removed to Full Street. In the first quarter of the following year Mr. Smith was elected secretary, and held office uninterruptedly for 21 years. At the time the secretary began his duties, the receipts had risen to £16.10s. per week. In the following year the receipts rose to £63 per week. It was soon found necessary that the secretary should give up his ordinary employment, and devote the whole of his time to the duties of his office, and thus he did for nearly 22 years. He lived to see the society grow from 350 to 4,500 members, and from one small room to a large Central Store, with 17 branches, and 12 departments of trade. During the 21 years this secretary held office, the society realised a profit of over £100,000. He was a man of few words, but of sound judgment, developed and matured by long experience. A short time prior to his last illness, he was solicited to attend a society's meeting, and address its members. He declined on the ground that "making speeches was not at all in his line," but said, "he often wished he had that gift, for then he could give many remarkable instances how members, after joining the society, had never invested a penny in it, though year by year their share capital had increased until they had £100 to £150, and in many cases £200, standing to their credit in the books." It is said talking comes by nature, wisdom by silence. Mr. Smith had the silence and the wisdom, which a little talking would undoubtedly have made more useful. Seeing how readily some

persons talk who have nothing to say, it is a misfortune when one who has ideas cannot, or does not, express them. Mr. Smith was quite free from the contempt of speech, sometimes expressed by way of self-defence by some who lack the faculty. On the contrary, Mr. Smith had great respect for pertinent and timely words, as he told Mr. Scotton. It may be said that Mr. Smith had a gift of silence (a very great gift at times) and a natural disinclination to talk. His choice was to put his thoughts into acts instead of words—a very good preference, when the thoughts are good. Mr. Smith died September 4th, 1881.

Mr. John Swift joined the society in 1858, in 1859 he was appointed a trustee. This gave him a seat on the committee of management. A subsequent Act of Parliament abolished the office of trustee, and in course of time Mr. Swift was appointed treasurer, succeeding the late Mr. Samuel Smith. The business of the society kept constantly increasing, and in 1871 he had to give up his employment, his whole services being required by the society. In September, 1881, he was elected secretary on the death of the late Mr. G. Smith, which office he held up to the time of his death with distinction and benefit to the society. Like Mr. G. Smith he has a place in the affection of all members who knew the store in his time. He is always spoken of with regard, and a large portrait of him hangs in the committee-room. It is no mean proof of his manly sense of self-help that he rose from being a blacksmith in the workshops of the Midland Railway Company to the position of an influential treasurer, and afterwards secretary, of the society. Mr. Swift died 1899.

Mr. George Woodhouse, the president, is a native of Derby. He joined the society in 1875, and thus has been a member twenty-five years. He was elected on the board of management in February, 1884 (the Derby Congress year), and was elected president in September, 1886, which office he has held to the present time. In fact, he has so gained the confidence of the members that there has not been any opposition during the whole fourteen years of his presidency. It is relevant to record that the first year he held this office the number of members was 5,241, at the end of last year they were 13,179. At the end of his first year of office (1887) the capital of the society was £83,258, at the end of last year it was £182,763, an increase in twelve years of near £100,000.

Mr. Woodhouse was elected on the Central Co-operative Board in the year 1895, and at the present time is chairman of the Midland Section of that Board. He is an effective speaker, and being but 47 years of age, there is undoubtedly a useful career of co-operative work before him. His power of advocacy and service are possessions of great advantage to the future of the society.

Mr. J. B. Rest is a comparatively young man, but early in life his sympathies were drawn to the co-operative movement. He became a member of the society in 1888, and up to last year held a responsible position on the clerical staff of the Midland Railway Company. At the beginning of last year (1899) the secretaryship of the society became vacant by the sudden death of Mr. Swift. Mr. Rest was elected to that position by a large majority. This was the first election conducted on the same lines as members of the Town Council. It is manifest he was the deliberate choice of the members, to whom he gives every satisfaction by the promptness and civility with which he discharges the duties of his office. Judging from his name, Mr. Rest must have descended from an ancient Derby family, of the days when the town was as semi-stationary as the Derwent, and not moving much faster. He, however, usefully belies his pleasant name of repose by his assiduity, his business talents being in accord with the activity and progress of the Derby of this century and the enterprise and onwardness of the Co-operative Society.

Mr. Mather is another who is entitled to enumeration in this place, but the reader will find his long and distinguished career described in the chapter on the Midland Railway Institute.

Mr. Samuel Smith also deserves a place among the principal officers of the society who was long connected with it. He joined it at the beginning and was one of its early treasurers. He was a life-long teetotaler, which fortunate persuasion has been the inspiration of so many excellent co-operators in all our societies. The reader will remember he was the counsellor of the George Yard pioneers, and its first president.

Other members of the society who in various capacities as committee-men, and in various departments, have rendered important services are entitled as far as it can be done to honourable enumeration.

Thomas Rushton Brown is the only survivor of the first George Yard Society. He was born in Kensington Street, Derby, December 13th, 1826. His father was a warehouseman to John and Charles Bakewell, grocers, Market Head. His mother had been 13 years a servant in the same family. He was sent to school down a yard in Sadler Gate. He tells of the dark days of his youth—how wages were low, bread very dear; no gas in houses, only a few small oil lamps in the street, at very long intervals, making darkness more visible. At night watchmen tramped the streets with their rattles and lanterns. As the reader has seen in the chapter on George Yard, he took part in all the vicissitudes of those patient, plodding, persevering carpenters and joiners, of which he was one. Being a builder also in a small way, he executed various commissions for the society in alterations made in Full Street, Park Street, and Nun Street. About 1863 he left Derby to reside in Acton, near London, where he has long been in business. He is still hale, active, and bright. Mr. Brown visited Derby last year, and assisted in verifying the sites of the earliest stores.

Mr. W. F. Townson began his career as a teacher in one of the Public Schools of the town, an appointment he held for four years. The business of the society increasing rapidly, it became necessary for the secretary to have assistance, and Mr. Townson was appointed clerk in October, 1876; and when the late Mr. Swift became secretary in 1881, Mr. Townson succeeded him as treasurer, which office he still holds. He is a man of rather retiring disposition (natural to a good treasurer) but very painstaking in his work. When it is considered that during the time he has been treasurer, the trade of the society has been £3,459,000. This sum large as it is, does not represent all that passes through his hands—yet during the whole time of his office there has not been a single complaint. The society may be said to have in him a very efficient, reliable, and trustworthy officer.

Mr. M. Athey joined the society in 1877, and was elected on the committee in 1886, thus being the senior member of the board. He has been a delegate to local conferences, and in various ways has been an entirely useful member of the society.

Mr. F. Gudgeon became a member of the society in 1886, and was elected a member of the committee in 1891, and is still a member of the board, having been re-elected each year. He represented the society at the Woolwich Congress.

**B. WEBSTER.**

Mr. B. Webster joined the society in 1879, was elected on the committee in 1882, retired from the committee in 1885, was re-elected in 1886, and served until 1890. He has represented the society at the quarterly meetings of the Wholesale Society. He was appointed, with Messrs. Hilliard and Townson, to represent Derby at the 21st anniversary of the Wholesale Society, and was also elected to represent the society at the Congresses held at Dewsbury, Huddersfield, Perth, and Peterborough. He was re-elected a member of the board in 1889, a position he has since resigned in consequence of ill health—which, much to the regret of his colleagues, lately ended fatally.

Mr. E. Dolman joined the society in 1878, and was elected a member of the committee in 1892, which office he still holds. He has frequently been a delegate to conferences and represented the society at the Congresses held at Woolwich and Peterborough.

Mr. I. Farnsworth became a member of the society in 1880, and is the son of one of the oldest members, his father having joined the society in 1862. Mr. I. Farnsworth was elected on the committee in 1894 and is still in office. He was a delegate to the Derby Congress, and for several years was an officer of the penny bank.

Mr. H. Turner joined the society in 1885, and was elected on the committee of management in 1895, and still retains his seat on the board. He represented the Derby Society on the Committee of the Midland Exhibition, in 1898.

Mr. J. H. Hayes became a member of the society in 1890, and was elected on the committee in 1895, and still retains his seat on the board. He is also a member of the educational committee, and represented the society at Liverpool Congress last year.

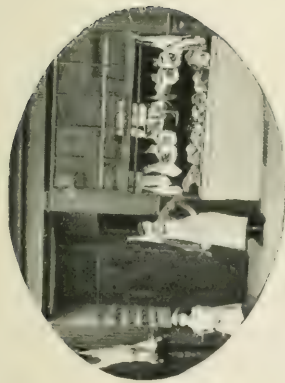
Mr. J. Hudson joined the society in 1886, and became a member of the committee in 1896, and has frequently represented the society at local and district conferences.

Mr. W. Payne became a member of the society in 1882, and was elected to a seat on the committee of management in 1898. He is also a member of the educational committee, and has frequently been a delegate to the Wholesale Society's quarterly meetings, and represented the Derby Society at Carlisle, in 1887, and at Perth, in 1897.

Mr. F. Rankin joined the society in 1884, and was elected to the committee of management in February, 1899, and has represented the society at local conferences.

Mr. W. Evans has been a member of the society since 1891, having previously been a member of the Barnsley Society. He was elected on the committee in May, 1899, and has represented the society at the quarterly meetings of the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

Mr. A. W. Williams has been a member of the society since 1882, and when the education classes were formed he became a member, and at the examination he obtained both a prize and certificate, and was elected to a seat on the board in August, 1899.



PARLIAMENT ST. BUTCHERY, OPENED 1890



PEEL STREET BUTCHERY, OPENED 1878.



NORFOLK STREET GROCERY, OPENED 1898.



LONDON ROAD GROCERY, OPENED 1899.

Mr. H. Wright joined the society in 1887, and was elected to a seat on the board of management in November, 1899, and has represented the Derby Society at the quarterly meetings of the Wholesale Society.

Mr. E. Merchant has been a member of the society since 1884. He was a strong advocate of the educational committee being a separate body from the general committee. In May, 1898, a committee was so appointed, and at its first meeting Mr. Merchant became its honorary secretary, a position he held until May, 1900. He was elected a member of the general committee in February, 1900, and was a delegate to the Huddersfield and Perth Congresses.

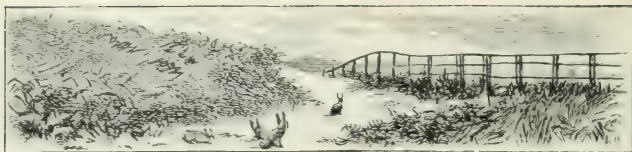
Among the names of those who have, and who still work for the advancement of the society, earlier and later workers, are W. Twigg, T. Barrodell, J. Bradbury, W. Wilford, T. Wilson, H. Barrett, W. Hemm, F. Hickingbottom, J. Henfrey, and J. Sherwin, to which may be added Henry Bates, for many years the valued and esteemed manager of the Boot and Shoe department, who died in 1883.

The oldest members on the books of the society now living, are J. Mather, A. Scotton, Robert Hilliard, G. H. Eccleshare, and W. North.

The reader will observe a curious peculiarity in these brief sketches.

It is frequently enumerated in the illustrations of a member's career, the growth of the society during his period of office and service. Americans have this peculiarity in another form. In the biography of a man, his weight avoirdupois is frequently given. For instance, in the life of Dr. Channing, it was stated that he weighed about 90lbs. Dr. Channing had a marvellous voice, which made hearers wonder how so small a man should possess it. He was so frail that he seemed merely a voice. This item of weight does give the reader some idea of the bulk, or otherwise, of the subject of the memoir.

A statement of the figures of the growth of the society during a member's connection with it, does not mean that its progress was all owing to the individual person in question, though, in some cases it may have been largely owing to him. Anyway it indicates the magnitude of the operations in which he took part, and to which he was more or less a contributor, and, in some instances, a real maker of the fortunes of the store.



The Midland Railway Institute.

CHAPTER XV.

THE Derby Co-operative Society owes much to the frequent courtesies of the Midland Railway Company, and is glad of this opportunity of acknowledgment. From the beginning to this day the fortunes of the stores have been also indebted to the intelligent and continuous support of workers at the Derby Station. It is, however, the Railway Institute which is mainly entitled to notice in this chapter. The company have built and maintained the Institute for the advantage of the men who have, through its means, acquired wider knowledge—knowledge outside that of their calling—the capacity for social as well as public service.

The Great Midland Railway had been opened only ten years when the co-operative society began. It was opened May 5th, 1840, and bore the name of "The Midland Counties Railway from Derby and Nottingham to Leicester."* It had naturally great influence upon the fortunes of the town of Derby, commercially and socially. It brought life and growth to a community which had known lethargic centuries.

It was stated at the trial of Wells and Co., in 1892, that the Midland Railway at Derby employed 10,000 workmen. A considerable number of them are members of the store. The chief officers of the society who, in former and later years, have done so much to advance its usefulness, have been, or are railway men. The success of many of our great stores elsewhere, has been owing to railway men joining them, and

* Mr. Scotton has preserved a copy of the placard announcing the opening.

aiding them by their practical knowledge. But nowhere has this been done to the same extent it has in Derby. Indeed, no railway company has taken so great an interest in the co-operative welfare of those in their employ, as the Midland directors have.

At the time of the Leicester Co-operative Congress of 1877, Mr. Ellis, the chairman of the Midland Company, presided at one of the meetings, and made an admirable and weighty speech. He put the practical features of co-operation in a nutshell (his squirrel hearers knew how to get at the kernel). Success, he explained, depended upon administration and confidence, self-reliance, and thrift. Its merit, he said, lay in making the best of such means as they had. This was the wise language of instruction and encouragement, without patronage. He said his policy was shared by all the directors. He alluded to the honourable fact that the Midland carried the poor man as fast as his richer neighbour. It was by the masses that the railway lived. He modestly said of himself that it was not ability, but by honest industry and hard work that he found himself in the position he held. He gave expression to the opinion that not over-labour but luxury was the danger of the nation. The well-to-do were too self-indulgent. Even the working class were luxurious, if regard be had to the millions they wasted every year in unnecessary and enervating drinking. This was their form of luxury. Mr. Ellis was a member of the Society of Friends. His speech showed that the inner light of the Quakers, though sometimes narrow, was wiser than the outer light of many less attentive to the dictates of a cultivated conscience.

The Midland Railway was the first to attach third-class carriages to every train, and bring the poor man to London in the same time as the gentleman, for which they had to pay the tax on third-class fares, costing the company £40,000 a year. Workmen travelling from London on other lines going north, were shunted at Blisworth, or other stations, for two hours, while the trains carrying gentlemen went by. A workman at Newcastle-on-Tyne travelling to London had to leave at 4-45 in the morning, and did not arrive at Euston until 8 or 9 at night. To avoid the travelling tax, companies ran what were known as "crawling trains." A sailor, landing at Liverpool, going to see his mother at Edinburgh or Glasgow, had to stop at 53 stations on his way. The "poorer class" of travellers,

as an Act of Parliament called them, had reason to be grateful to the Midland Company who paid the tax for them, and attached third-class carriages to their swiftest trains.

This interest in the welfare of the people at large did not end there. Contemporaneous with it was their honourable solicitude for the improvement and advantages of the industrial army in its employment. From the first the Midland Directors assisted in the formation of the Institute which is now a distinguished feature of the station, and was an attraction to intelligent workmen who came to them. Mr. Samuel Smith, Mr. Hilliard, Mr. Swift, Mr. Mather, and Mr. Sutton, who mostly came from Leicester and its neighbourhood, joined the Railway Institute almost together, as they did eventually the Co-operative Society.

Incidents in the early history of the Railway Institute will be informing to many readers, since very few remain who can relate them. The directors of the railway company gave the front rooms of two cottages in Leeds Place, rent free. Leeds Place was at the back of the present Institute. Mr. Mather joined in 1854, and Mr. Scotton in 1855, who was then, and up to 1890, an employé of the company. The members paid one penny per week. They soon outgrew these premises. At the opposite side the entrance to the general manager's office, the directors built a large room for the shareholders' half-yearly meetings, and they gave to the Institute all the rooms underneath rent free. This building was formally opened by Mr. John Ellis, the then chairman of the company. In time the place became too small, and then the directors built the present Institute. The payment is still one penny per member per week. Mr. Swift was for many years on the council of the Railway Institute. There were few workmen on that council, the rest being mainly heads of departments. Mr. Mather joined that council in 1860, and has been connected with it ever since. His name appears as the treasurer of the Institute—he is an old co-operator, and has been president, committee-man, and auditor of this society. Some time after two other workmen were elected to that body; one (Mr. John Wilson) was for many years an auditor of the Co-operative Society.

The slender accommodation of the Institute in early years, compared with its present opulent conveniences, makes a striking contrast. In 1856, it occupied the front rooms in



E. Dolman.	A. W. Williams.	R. Hillard, <i>Manager.</i>	J. B. Rest, <i>Secretary.</i>	W. F. Townson, <i>Treasurer.</i>	J. Hudson.
F. Rankin.	H. Wright.	H. Turner.	G. Woodhouse, <i>President.</i>	I. Farnsworth.	E. Merchant.
		W. Payne.	F. Gudgeon.	J. H. Hayes.	M. Athey.
					W. Evans.

Leeds Place. It had for a librarian, Mr. Joseph Seal, an old employé of the company, who occupied the back rooms and acted as librarian at night, at the close of his daily railway duties. The catalogue was then written on pasteboard and hung on the wall of, what they were pleased to call, the "Library." Such was the humble beginning of the Institute, now one of the noblest features of the town. It is a handsome structure of good architectural design, which a workman may enter with pride. It would be taken for a gentleman's institute by any one who did not know its democratic uses. It has a real library of a remarkable character, and a handsome lecture and concert hall. Paintings lend their charm to the walls. A large oil painting of quality and character, hangs in the corridor, presented by the present general manager of the railway, Mr. George Henry Turner. Though large, the Institute is in process of enlargement. The refectory is worthy of a monastery of the middle ages—which had a dispensation from all obligation of fasting. Some railways have convenient dining-rooms, but as destitute of brightness as a poor house interior. This refectory is very cheery, with vistas of shining porcelain dinner and tea ware, which delight both eye and appetite. Refreshment is very pleasant within its walls.

The Institute is an atheneum. There are classes for short-hand, French, and, apparently, German, as there are facilities afforded for excursions to the Continent, for the advantage of students of French and German; there is also a dancing class and an orchestral band. At other times lecturers occupy the hall, whom it is worth travelling far to hear.

The library is as remarkable in its simplicity and perfection of arrangement as all things else in the Institute. Nothing equal to it is known to the writer elsewhere. The noble custody of books is confided to Mr. Ernest A. Baker, M.A., who has compiled a descriptive handbook of prose fiction in the library. It is a work of great labour. Only a person of wide knowledge and cultivated judgment could have compiled it. It is a book of independent value in any household, and to any reader—who, if he be not wise when he begins with Mr. Baker for a guide, will be wise when he ends.

Fiction writers of France, Germany, America, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Italy, Spain; Jewish, Scandinavian, Asiatic, and African authors are among those with whom we are made acquainted: and, what is more, the books are on the shelves,

which illustrate the novelistic genius of the nations—ready for the use of the members of the Institute. Curiosity awakened can be at once gratified. The authors are described, the period to which their works relate, and the local scenes they may embrace—the characteristics and distinction of the writers. Points of relevance and interest, unthought of by the ordinary reader, are brought under his notice. It seems as though the whole world of fiction, in every age and clime, is opened up before the wondering peruser. If any person wants to have enlightened and instructive opinions of works of fiction, he cannot do better than inquire of one of the fortunate members of the Midland Railway Institute who has read Mr. Baker's enlightening "Handbook to Fiction."

All the opinions given, where not absolutely Mr. Baker's, are founded upon the best public criticisms extant, and often a sentence or two is given from a critic who is named. Next to the capacity of forming just opinions is that of knowing when others have expressed them, and both meet in this handbook. Bad reading is worse than loss of time. It depraves the understanding and fills the ear with verbiage, while good reading is a gain for ever. It forms the mind and chastens the taste. To have the run of this Institute and the guidance of such a librarian is a prodigy of opportunity. If co-operators attain their dream of running the world, and establishing the best kinds of education for their members, they would do well to get Mr. E. A. Baker to compile the handbooks of their libraries.

It was not until 1808 that the Quakers acquired a meeting-house in Derby. The reader of an early chapter, will remember the trouble the town took to prohibit Quakers from entering it. It was fortunate that they did not accomplish their perpetual exclusion, seeing the great advantages which Quaker officials conferred upon the railway and the workmen by their judicious and munificent management. It is singular that a Society of Friends first acquired the name of Quaker in Derby. George Fox, whose intrepidity was such that no charter, or intimidation, could keep him out of any place where he chose to go—presented himself in the town in 1650. When it got a live Quaker it kept him, in the unpleasant way of imprisoning him for twelve months in its most unwholesome gaol. One day Mr. Justice Bennet, who was not a pleasant, but a ready-witted person, was addressed by Fox, who told him

“he ought to tremble at the word of the Lord.” Whereupon he called Fox a “quaker,” a name, which for the first time was applied to Fox’s followers. It was the Justice who ought to have quaked, for Fox never quaked before anyone however savage, nor before any imprisonment however vindictive. But it was clever in Justice Bennet to conceal the quaking of his own conscience by imputing it to Fox.





A Libeller Brought to Book.

CHAPTER XVI.

AS a general rule co-operative societies never go to law with outsiders, nor with themselves. In cases of difference of opinion among members their rule provides that any question in dispute shall be decided by arbitration. Now and then a society is assailed by tradesmen, who disparage it by misrepresentation. When the misrepresentation is flagrant the society may take legal steps to vindicate itself. In one instance the Derby Society had to do this, and the story of the trial is sufficiently instructive to be told.

In 1892, one John Wells, trading under the name of "J. Wells and Co." issued 25,000 handbills which the Society deemed libellous, and resolved to bring the libeller to book.

Now, the law in these cases is that a Co-operative Society registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1876, may sue and be sued in the perpetual succession and a common seal. There is no single definition of a libel which can definitely guide those concerned as to what is libellous. Each case must be considered in the light of its own circumstances. A society however which considers that it has been libelled has, before commencing legal proceedings, to determine either that—(1) It has been prejudicially affected by the written

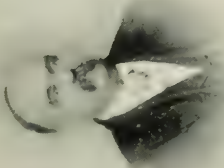
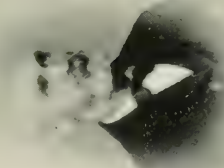
W. MACCONNELL.

JAS. WOOD.

H. WELCHER.

E. MANNING.

C. W.



or printed statement in such a manner as would have given a right of action had the persons affected been private individuals instead of a society; or, (2) That the written, or printed, statement, impeaches the credit of the society, by imputing to it fraud or dishonesty, or any mean and dishonourable trickery in the conduct of its business, or which in any other manner is prejudicial to it in the way of its employment or trade.

If the libel is contained in a printed handbill or pamphlet, which does not bear a printer's name, there is a penalty prescribed for that omission. This law is seldom enforced, except in cases of libel. What the law is, as respects omission of the printer's name, it may be useful to state here, as it is far from being generally known.

With reference to the "printing and distributing of handbills which do not bear the printer's name and place of business at the foot thereof," 2 and 3 Vict., chap. 12, section 2, provides that "every person, who after the passing of this Act, shall print any paper or book whatsoever, which shall be meant to be published or dispersed, and who shall not print upon the part of every such paper, if the same shall be printed on one side only, or upon the first and last leaf of every paper or book, which shall consist of more than one leaf, in legible characters, his or her name and usual place of abode or business, and every person who shall publish or disperse, or assist in publishing or dispersing, any printed paper or book, on which the name and place of abode of the person printing the same shall not be printed as aforesaid, shall for *every* copy of such paper so printed by him or her, forfeit a sum of not more than £5."

The action against Mr. Wells was tried before Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, at the Derby Summer Assizes, July, 1892. The plaintiffs were the Co-operative Society which was defended by Mr. M. C. Buszard, Q.C., and Mr. Graham, instructed by Messrs. Moody and Woolley, of Derby. Mr. Buszard stated that Mr. Wells was charged by the Co-operative Society with having published a libel upon them in relation to their business. Mr. BUSZARD said: "The society was incorporated under the Provident Societies Act, and carried on an extensive business in the town as retail dealers in provisions and various other things. Mr. Wells was a rival dealer in the provision line, carrying on a somewhat similar business in

various shops. The Co-operative Society consisted of over 8,000 members belonging entirely to the artisan class. Their capital amounted to £106,000, accumulated by the artisan class, on which they received interest of 5 per cent, and for every sovereign they spent at the store they received, every quarter, a dividend which generally amounted to 2s. 6d. Mr. Wells issued a handbill entitled '£1,000 reward, startling but true,' then followed a statement purported to be made under oath by Elizabeth Thompson, of No. 5 Court, Bridge Gate, Derby, who had been to the co-operative store and made sundry purchases, at prices which were compared with the lower prices for which it was alleged, the same things could be bought at Wells and Co. She asked for, and had the best things which were compared with the prices at which very inferior things were sold by Mr. Wells." A further allegation was made against the printer (whose name Mr. Wells endeavoured to conceal). The printer, Mr. Bacon, to whom Mr. Wells gave an order for 25,000 bills, (being an honest printer), represented that if the bills bore no printer's name there would be risk to him. Mr. Wells did not want any name to appear, as his personal action in the matter might be traced. Mr. J. H. Etherington Smith, who defended Wells, sought to show that printers often sent out bills without their name.

LORD COLERIDGE said: "It was not of the slightest value for them to know what other people do. What had Mr. Bacon done? was the question."

MR. SMITH pleaded that it was "a sort of special advertisement."

LORD COLERIDGE said: "It was very special, no doubt, but its alleged meaning was that the goods purchased at the store were sold at a higher price than they could be purchased at Mr. Well's shops, and it asked the people of Derby whether they got a fair return for their money. He (his Lordship) did not suppose the jury would think that was an innocent rule-of-three sum."

MR. HENRY HOROBIN, an assistant in the grocery store, gave evidence as to the way in which Mrs. Thompson made her purchases. It ought to be recorded that Mrs. Thompson regretted the use made of her, of which she was not aware.

Then Mr. JOHN SWIFT, the secretary of the society, gave evidence. "The society," he said, "was managed by a board

principally consisting of the better class of artisans. They had 8,100 members, the great majority of them were of the artisan class, a large number of them were railway men (10,000 being employed at the head-quarters of the Midland Railway Company). The capital of the Co-operative Society was £109,231. 11s. 2d." Mr. Swift was very exact in his detail. He said the society dealt in 209 different articles. Mr. Wells had only selected 16. The average dividend was 2s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. They were more than dealers. The society had spent hundreds of pounds on education—had given £200 towards building the new Royal Infirmary, and £50 towards building the Deaf and Dumb Institution.

LORD COLERIDGE, in summing up, gave an admirable statement of the aims and character of the Derby Co-operative Society. He said: "The Co-operative Society of Derby is, I have no doubt, a very useful and excellent institution. It has 8,100 members and a capital of nearly £110,000, and it conducts its business according to rules, which have been circulated by many thousands, and are accordingly well known to anybody who wants to do business with them. I don't understand that they ever pretended to be simply and solely a trading corporation. They did say that they were a trading corporation, making profits by trading operations, but at the same time doing a variety of other things. First of all, by ready-money trading, they have an advantage in the market, but at the same time there are certain things which they do with their money, which is not trading at all. They subscribe to charities; they help their members in educational matters; they do a variety of things which are not strictly trading, but still have to do with the profits in their trading. Everybody who joins the society knows perfectly well that the payment of one shilling will make a man a member, and the moment he becomes a member he knows the terms upon which he has embarked. Being a large society, it can carry on trade with considerable advantage, and it does carry on business at a great number of places in Derby. It is almost impossible for a great firm, or a great house, to succeed beyond the ordinary run of success without doing so to the disadvantage of someone. It is the condition of things in this country. Competition, so long as it is carried out in an honest and straightforward way, is the life and soul of the commerce of

England. Mr. Wells may do all in his power to get everybody to deal with him. But the law says that he must not do this by unfairly attacking the character of a rival trader. If you do that, the law says it is not fair dealing. Anything which is stated to a man's discredit is a slander and a libel, and if it is written down or printed, and especially if it is printed and published, unless you can show that what is stated or published is either privileged or true."

LORD COLERIDGE summed up in favour of the society, and gave his opinion clearly that Mr. Wells' handbills, representing that the society was causing the people of Derby to incur "wicked waste," by buying at the store instead of buying at his shop, was libellous. Thus Mr. Wells was brought to book and his tricks of trade exposed to all the country round. The result was published by the society in these words.

"The action for libel against Mr. John Wells, trading as J. Wells and Co., tried before Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and a special jury at the late assizes, resulted in a verdict for the society with 20s. damages and costs, with an injunction restraining J. Wells and Co. from issuing any more bills of the character of the one complained of. The penalty action for publishing the bills without the printer's name being on, was settled by J. Wells and Co. agreeing to pay the society £50 towards their costs in this action. We are pleased to note that the sympathy of the great bulk of the traders in the town has been strongly expressed in our favour." Thus Mr. Wells lost money and character by his defamatory handbill.

It is curious to record that Mr. Wells, the assailant of the society, had at that time numerous shops in Derby, since, he has gone down, and left the town, while the society has multiplied its branches, and remains in the administration of a larger business than ever.

In 1891, the year before the trial, the subject of this chapter, the *Monthly Record* published a very effective advertisement worth citing. It attacked no tradesman, it made no reflection upon anyone, but honestly showed what the society was doing. It acted on the maxim of Antithenes: "A madman is not cured by another running-mad also."



V. KNOWLES.
G. F. A. TITTLEY.

J. THORPE
A. HEATH,

AUDITORS.

FOUND!!

By Six Thousand Three Hundred and Seventy-seven working men in Derby an increased share of the comforts and luxuries of life, through an improvement in their social condition. This improvement may be attributed to Co-operation, for in 1889 the sum of

£19,145 16 6

profit was realised by the members trading at their own shops. These figures claim for co-operative enterprise a foremost position amongst the commercial undertakings of the present century. Our ranks are daily being augmented by numbers of intelligent men, who are learning that

AT THE

Co-operative Stores they may in reality "find," in the shape of dividends, hard cash wherewith to provide against sickness, infirmity, and old age. This knowledge alone is of immense value to the

CO-OPERATIVE

purchaser in this age of cheapness, as serious consequences sometimes result from the use of goods of inferior quality. Thousands of members of Co-operative

STORES

have found incalculable advantages and benefits in time of need, by having a fund to which they could come and draw their own, and thus successfully pass over a time of difficulty. Every working man can enjoy the same advantages by going to the Secretary, at his office,

ALBERT STREET,

and paying 1s. 5d. entrance fees, then, after trading at the Store, they will soon find out the benefits for themselves, and if they begin with the new year, when it comes to its close instead of having a few candles or an almanac for a Christmas box, they will have several pounds standing to their credit, and will thus have provided for a "rainy day," and be in as good a position as other men in

DERBY

Another advertisement set forth as follows:—

How the Profit is Divided!

THE net profit, after allowing interest on capital, £1,130. 7s. 10d. and £483. 2s. 2d. as depreciation on buildings and fixed stock, amounted to

£5967 5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

which was disposed of as follows:—

DIVIDEND on Members' purchases at 2/6 in the £, £5,875.

BONUS on Non-Members' purchases at 1/- in the £, £23. 18s. 11d.

GRANT to Educational Fund, £59. 8s. 8d.

AND

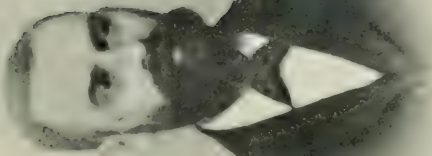
TO General Reserve Fund, £7.13s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Sept. Quarter, 1891.

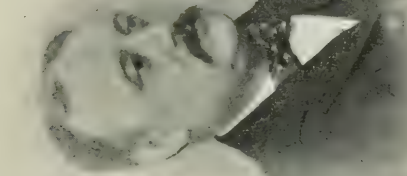
Derby has not been further troubled with libellers, and enjoys friendly relations with its neighbours, which, indeed, have in the main always subsisted.



W. EVANS.

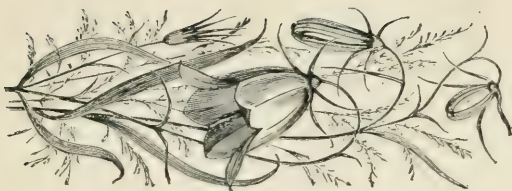


F. GUDGEON.



H. WRIGHT.

TAILORING AND BUTCHERY COMMITTEE.



Committee of Management.

CHAPTER XVII.

PRESIDENTS

R. HILLIARD and G. WOODHOUSE (who is President at this time). These are the first presidents appointed by the members. The committee formerly elected their own chairman.

Mr. M. ATHEY.....	Elected 1886
„ F. GUDGEON	„ 1891
„ E. DOLMAN.....	„ 1892
„ ISAAC FARNSWORTH...	„ 1894
„ H. TURNER	„ 1895
„ J. H. HAYES	„ 1895
„ J. HUDSON	„ 1896
„ W. PAYNE	„ 1898
„ F. RANKIN	„ 1899
„ W. EVANS	„ 1899
„ A. W. WILLIAMS	„ 1899
„ H. WRIGHT.....	„ 1899
„ E. MERCHANT	„ 1900

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE.

- MR. H. WEBSTER (CHAIRMAN)
 „ J. WOOD (TREASURER)
 „ E. MERCHANT (SECRETARY)
 „ W. PAYNE
 „ J. H. HAYES
 „ W. MACCONNELL
 „ J. H. WIGGINTON
 „ S. WOOD
 „ MRS. HARDCASTLE.

MANAGERS.

There have been but two general managers—

- MR. JOHN RILEY
 „ ROBERT HILLIARD

TREASURERS.

There have been but three treasurers—

- MR. SAMUEL SMITH
 „ JOHN SWIFT
 „ W. F. TOWNSON

SECRETARIES.

There have been but four secretaries during the existence of the society—

- MR. JAMES HENDERSON, 1849-1859
 „ GEORGE SMITH, 1860-1881
 „ JOHN SWIFT, 1881-1899
 „ J. B. REST, 1899

AUDITORS.

1. VICKERS KNOWLES, joined society September, 1889,
elected auditor August, 1891.
2. GEORGE F. A. TITTLE, joined society November,
1883, elected auditor November, 1894.
3. JOHN THORPE, joined society July, 1894, elected
auditor May, 1897.
4. ARTHUR HEATH, joined society August, 1886, elected
auditor November, 1899.





Distinction between Store-keeping and Shop-keeping.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IT is a duty in a special narrative of the success—not to say triumph—of a new form of trade, to vindicate it from the supposition of being unfair, or injurious, to its neighbours in business. If co-operation has advantages it is owing to the intrinsic merits of its methods, its principles and benefits conferred upon its customer, which ordinary trading does not confer. Neither shop-keepers as a rule, nor the general public, understand co-operation in practice. This may be made clear by explaining the distinction between Store-keeping and Shop-keeping. The principle on which a shop is founded, is the profit of the proprietor. The principle on which the store is founded, is the profit of the customer. The principle of the shop is cheapness, generally at the expense of the customer. The principle of the store is excellence, by which the customer profits. The shop measures excellence by cheapness—the store measures cheapness by excellence and trustworthiness. The purchaser who thinks cheapness everything and thinks of nothing else, will corrupt any seller. It is not wrong to look for cheapness—provided the cheapness includes good quality. But he who makes cheapness the measure of quality asks for an adulterated article—and commonly gets it.

Once a board of representative co-operators had to choose from tenders for the erection of a large building, when, to the astonishment of all who understood co-operation, a member, thought to have discernment, moved that the cheapest tender



E. MERCHANT,



J. H. HAYES,
BOOT AND COAL COMMITTEE.



M. ATHEY.

be taken, and it was. The motion was if not immoral at least inconsistent. The board knew nothing of the principles of business of the lowest tender, and had no moral control over the practices of the firm; one tender came from a co-operative society, whose ability to do the work was undoubted, and whose principles of procedure were known. That tender was rejected because it was a little higher than the cheapest. If members of a store all acted upon the principle of taking the cheapest thing, it would be impossible to provide them with genuine articles.

It is worth recalling the wise words of Henry Ward Beecher, who understood co-operation, as he did most things. His words were: "It is the front part of the counter that corrupts the back part. Men that sell are perverted by the men that buy. Buyers seek 'bargains' instead of being willing to render an equivalent for what they receive."

The purchaser at a shop has no right in it. The purchaser at a store has. He is one of the owners of it. The buyer at a shop has no knowledge of the quality of what he buys, or whence it comes. The buyer at a store knows, or can know, all about it. The buyer at a shop knows nothing about its profits, and would be thought impertinent if he asked, and would be told it was no business of his. But it is the business of a purchaser at a store to know what its profits are, and he has balance sheets furnished to him, from which he can know everything. It does concern him to know what profits are made, because he has a share of them. The accounts of a shop are secret, the accounts of a store are open.

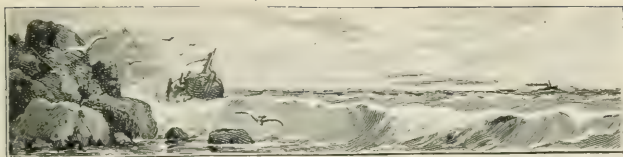
True, the store makes more profit than the shop, and the shopkeeper thinks that what the store gains he loses. This is his mistake. What we gain is not all taken from him. The store has the larger number of customers and large numbers mean economy in expense of administration. Besides the store buys with ready money. That is another gain. The shopkeeper mostly buys on credit. That is a loss to him. The store takes ready money and has no bad debts. The shop gives credit and stands to lose that way. So the shop does not lose what the store gains. The shop does not make it. Besides, what profit custom makes the shopkeeper keeps, while the store gives it all to the customer and workers in it. Thus, in a comparison of the shop and the co-operative store, the shop is not in it.

We write no word of reproach because the shop-keeping is different from store-keeping. Each acts on a different system. The object of this chapter is merely to show that the two systems are intrinsically different and that co-operation has no reason to fear the competition which it supersedes.

No doubt the shop-keeper suffers but little at our hands, though he often charges us with being harmful to him. His enemies are of his own household. It is the Shoolbreds and Maples, the Whiteleys and Liptons, who, by great capital destroy all the little dealers about them, plant shops in every town and compete with and undersell the honest private dealer. These are the shop-keeper's enemies. Why does he not attack them? He could do it if he had unity and wit. And he would show more wisdom than by imputing his difficulties to the co-operators.

The shop does not suffer from the store. Shop-keepers seek to undersell the store—the store never seeks to undersell the shop. It is the interest of the co-operative system not to sell below the market rates, nor to lower the market. Every day some ill-informed person will go into a store and say he can buy cheaper at the shops. The shops have no customers who say they can buy cheaper at the store. No store willingly joins in the miserable game of underselling its neighbours. The more a customer pays at a store the more he saves—since it all comes back to him in his dividend. Thus, the store has no interest in underselling the shop. And the store, by keeping up fair prices, has made the fortunes of scores of shop-keepers in every town. Were they wiser than they are, they would see it an advantage to them to have stores about them. We have often made fortunes for them. They never made any fortune for us.

Much more might be said. But sufficient for the purpose—is the evil thereof? We have merely sought to show that the shop and the store represent two different systems, and stand side by side each on its own merits, and the shop has in some cases inextinguishable merits, as we might show if this were the place to do it. Anyhow, there are now more than 42 millions of people in Great Britain, and not two millions of co-operators. We leave to the shop-keepers 40 millions of customers. Should they not be content? Should they begrudge us our minority of adherents?



The New Trade and the Old Trade.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE distinctions between the store and the shop, explained in the last chapter, will appear plainer still if we compare the new with the old methods of business. Co-operation is a new system of trading. It supersedes the old system—which is antediluvian. Ever since the flood shop-keepers looked to doing business with people who did not know what they were buying. It would be unjust, and therefore unfair, not to own that shop-keepers have sometimes better goods to offer than they find customers for, with sufficient knowledge to perceive it; hence the saying, “If you offer pearls to swine they turn again and rend you.” Co-operators are liable to the same experience, but they provide against this by educating their customers. The shop-keepers neglect to do this. Mr. Augustine Birrell, M.P., has told us that the commercial motto of the City of London is—“Beware of the seller.” With the old school the dealer’s trade is often a trick, or manœuvre, or war of wit, in which the unskilled or uninformed purchaser goes to the wall. In co-operation the seller, as a member of the society, appoints or controls, or has controlling knowledge of the goods he offers at the counter, and has no interest in cheating himself or the customers. The tradesman, as a rule, is as honestly-minded as co-operators; but he cannot do all he would. He is in a competitive system, in which the interest of the dealer is first—the interest of the buyer second. The co-operator is outside the competitive system. He is a member of another system—quite different, in which “Each is for all and all for each”—and no private

interest has to be consulted. In true co-operation no one benefits at the expense of others. All this is new trading, quite the reverse of the old system. If anyone wants to see what the new system of trading does for its customers, let him go to New Normanton; there, five streets have been built by the store. All those prosperous streets are owned by its customers, and owned because they have been its customers.

The co-operator is pledged by his rules, to disclose to the purchaser anything he knows to the disadvantage of what he offers for sale. If this were done by those who conduct business on the old method of trading, half the shops in every large town would have to be closed in six months. The new trade educates its customers in the nature of commodities, so that they may know what to buy. Do the old trade dealers do this?

The two principles recognised by the new system are participation and education. They are quite outside the range of the old form of trade. Not only do the purchasers at the store share the profits, but the workers do. Participation of profit with labour and trade; to use the language of the new South African diplomacy—is the one principle which has “paramountcy” in co-operation. The store is founded upon it. By mere wages all that can be commanded is the ordinary service rendered for wages. But a man has more to sell than his labour. He has his skill, his goodwill, and his capacity for economy. Co-operation buys these. In the labour market of old trade nothing is given for these profitable qualities. Where profit is accorded, there is a claim upon their skill, goodwill, and active interests of all shop-servers and workers. Sometimes, those who are accorded participation in gains take it as a matter of course, and do not concern themselves, or make any special effort to promote the prosperity of the society. Upon such persons participation is thrown away, and they would have no right of complaint if they found themselves exchanged for other workers, with better discernment and a livelier appreciation of principle; for no one owes consideration to those who show no consideration for others.

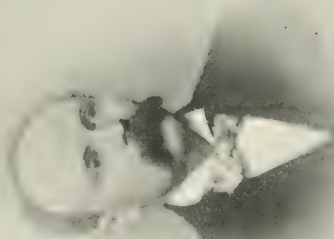
The amount of profit depends upon the sum taken in the shop, and the small amount of leakage made in distribution. The persons who share profits in the Derby Society include all who serve behind the counter, the grocers, the meat tender, the drapers, the boot and shoemakers at the bench, and in the painting and hardware shops. In the Coal Department, the



A. W. WILLIAMS.



E. DOLMAN,
DRAPERY COMMITTEE.



F. RANKIN.

draymen who go about the streets with coal have a rate per ton. In the winter they earn £2. 3s. and even £2. 5s. a week. In the bakehouse the men have a rate per bag, and the total earned per week is divided according to wages. This is substantially profit-sharing, and is conceded as a right and as a reward for assiduity and intelligence.

Liberty was a "bonus" in England in the days of the Plantagenets, revocable at the pleasure of the ruler. It is now a right of every man, as profit is in true co-operation the right of all who work by hand or brain. A certain portion of such earnings are deposited with the society to accumulate as a provision for domestic exigence, or old age pension. The Romans discovered that labour extracted by fear and slaughter, by torture, or intrigue, was slovenly and insufficient, and they gave the cultivator an interest in the amount and quality of his work.

Profit on service was first conceded to employés in 1883. There was no resistance to it, or conflict about it. The good sense of the committee proposed it, and the good sense of the members sustained it. Now for examples of what this participation in profits, conceded by the Derby Society, means. The coal trade, in the year 1885, received £101; the men in the Grocery and Meat Departments received £136 in addition to their ordinary wages.

During the past six years, 1894 to 1900, the amount of profit given to shopmen is £4,382 over and above their wages.

It may be said that in many businesses, foremen and superintendents are given a commission on profits made in their departments. This is true. But the commission given is not a reward so much for their superior skill, but as an inducement to get more work for less wages from those they engage or overlook. What these heads of departments gain the workmen lose. It is not in this way, nor in this spirit, that the new trade acts.

Such are the advantages of the new trade, which is out of the range of the old trade. But there is another and greater yet, and that is education. Though education stands second here among the features of the store, it might stand first from its importance. Hutton, the historian of the town, tells us that in his day there was no education to be had in Derby for youths of his class. The first Sunday School Society was not founded until 1785, six years before Hutton

published his "History of Derby." * This society had two earnest champions—Rowland Hill, the father of Sir Rowland of Post-office renown, and Mrs. Hannah More, a famous authoress in her time. She was considered a pioneer of elementary education for the people. She confined her curriculum to "the Bible and the Catechism and such coarse work as may fit the children for servants." "I allow," she says, "no writing for the poor." The poor Derby youth who under such disadvantages made a name for himself in literature showed there was energy and capacity in the Derby blood.

There are many who would not like to be thought enemies of education, and they sometimes believe they are its friends, yet in their hearts they care very little for it, and have no idea that knowledge is utility as well as pleasure. They think they know enough as it is. That is because they do not know how little they know.

Freaks of intellect are as many and as entertaining as the freaks in Barnum and Bailey's Show, though it is not possible to embody and exhibit mental eccentricities. Some have crooked souls. They cannot think straight, nor see straight, nor speak straight, nor walk straight, nor act straight. Many men talk like philosophers and live like fools, but they are not genuine idiots—only parrot philosophers. Philosophy has got into their heads but not into their hearts, and not at all into their pockets. There are some societies which provide for knowledge as though it were a charity, or a poor relation who could not take care of itself, whereas knowledge is a King, and the only power which enables the lame to walk, and the blind to see, and the impotent to act. Ignorance gives a sort of eternity to prejudice, and perpetuity to error, and as the thoughtful pioneers found that prejudice and error were obstacles in their way which only education could remove, they wisely provided for it.

The advocates of the new trade in Derby early understood this. Education was started in 1864. The society had the Old Assembly Room in Full Street, adjoining the secretary's office, which was used as a reading-room. It had seven newspapers and a few weekly and monthly periodicals. It was free to members. From 1877 votes were given for education and

* The copy in the Free Library was published in 1791, and is now 109 years old.

continue to the present time. It was this faculty of intelligent discernment which caused them to make an early minute, "That we rent a reading-room at Full Street for the use of members from the Rev. Erskine Clarke and H. Holmes." At a committee meeting on New Year's Day, 1868 (thirty-two years ago), they determined "to hold a public meeting at the opening of the reading-room, and Mr. Oldham and Mr. Smith were to solicit the Mayor to preside on the occasion." What made them do this unless they saw that intelligence was a co-operative necessity. In 1876, twenty-four years ago, a reading-room was opened in High Street, which was continued until the premises were taken down for a new building on the site. Soon after a library, well-selected, was opened for the use of members. The educational committee knew that education was a co-operative helper. Knowledge is power, as those know who have it. But as the Bishop of London told us at Peterborough, many forget that "ignorance is impotence."

Being of this opinion the Derby Society endowed their educational committee with an income of 1 per cent of their total profits. This is what the new trade store-keepers do. Where are the old trade shop-keepers in our streets who do the like?





Characteristics of the Derby Society.

CHAPTER XX.

WE might call this chapter Ethical Characteristics, did there not seem to lie in the phrase a pretention of moral perfection which, though a good thing to aim at, is not modest to assume on this side of the millennium. Co-operators are not desirous of being classed among the goody good people, who, as a rule, are not good for much. What co-operators stand up for and profess, is a manly honesty in contracts, statements, and trade. Their principles of co-operation imply not only good-will, but as we have said, fair participation of benefits with all who join them, and they, as a rule, keep the contract. In statements, or profession, they, in the main, say what they mean and mean what they say. In trade they can be trusted for genuineness in commodities, as far as care can compass it. Justness of weight or measure are within every honest man's power. Excellence of material and workmanship in articles of manufacture are their constant aim. This is good every day trade morality, as trade goes, and better than a good deal that is known to go, under the system of irresponsible competition. In its earliest days co-operators believed that honesty would pay, when not many persons in business did believe it. They accepted the Latin maxim: "There is no expediency without honesty."

This Jubilee History, which is now drawing to a close, does not include everything pertinent to it, from fear of its being too long for its purpose, which purpose is that it shall be read, and not weary the reader. It is better to hear it said the book might be longer, than that the reader should say it had been better had it been shorter.



H. TURNER.
W. PAYNE.

I. FARNSWORTH.
J. HUDSON.

BUILDING COMMITTEE.

The reader may find incidental repetitions, which if they do not chafe, are serviceable, inasmuch as they save him from going back for references. Repetitions may be tiresome, but obscurity is irritating. However, setting the same things in new lights, is not repetition, but illustration and confirmation. In a narrative of this kind the main thing is authenticity, to secure which no pains have been spared. It is far easier to write fiction than history. Verification of facts takes time and labour. Hours may be spent in searching for a date, which when found, adds only two or three figures to the page. Their presence lends confidence to the history, though there is very little to show for it. In fiction the author can invent his facts, in history he has to find them. Of things unsaid it will occur to some, that mention might have been made in the chapter on the town of Derby, that Mr. Herbert Spencer, who has long stood in the first rank of great thinkers, was the son of a Derby school teacher, and who lately made important co-operative suggestions.

Among the curiosities of the "Early Records," the subject of an earlier chapter, there are other instances than those cited. Here is one. At a committee meeting on April 18th, 1865, it was gravely resolved—"That no order be given to any traveller in his presence." How can an order be given to anyone out of his presence? Where is he when he is not present? An order may be sent to him but cannot be given to him, unless he is present to receive it. But when the centenary of the Derby Society comes to be written, fifty years hence, historians of that day will find a mine of peculiarities in the minute books, and will thank us for our consideration in having left so much for their recital.

Though there is no evidence that the carpenters and joiners of George Yard, knew much, if anything, of Robert Owen, those who afterwards carried the store movement forward did. Robert Owen had been a frequent visitor to Derby, being an intimate friend of the Strutt family. He had also addressed audiences in the town. On one occasion he called on Mrs. Hagen, the Quakeress, of whom mention has been made. Seeing a portrait of himself on the wall, he asked her if she knew Robert Owen. Turning to the picture and then to her visitor, she said in her quick way, "Why, thou art Robert Owen."

The principles which the great Apostle of Social Ideas in England inculcated, and which became the characteristics of

the Derby Society, were few and clear. They were these:—

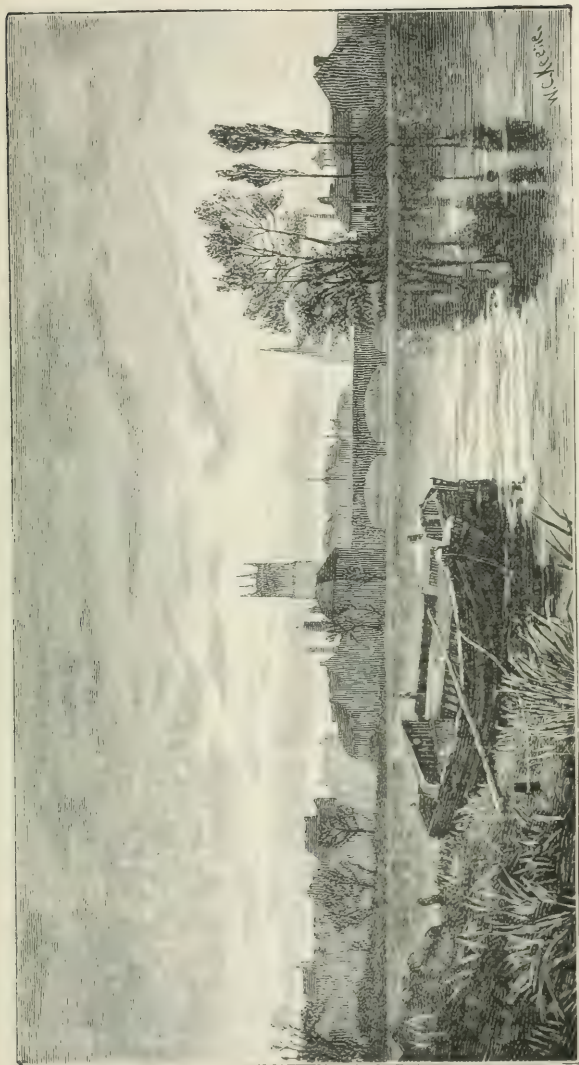
1. Truth in speech, without which nobody will believe us.
2. Honesty in transaction, without which custom in our stores cannot be retained.
3. Unity by fraternity, without which no unity is real.
4. Equity in according the gain everywhere among those whose diligence and vigilance help to produce it.

It has been by these principles and the beneficial results which have flowed from their application, which so many have shared, that the Derby Society has won its 14,000 members. In one of Shakspeare's most suggestive passages he says:—

“Each in his own hand bears
The means to cancel his captivity.”

The Derby Society, by bearing aloft, for half a century, the standard of co-operation, has caused the humblest member to know that he carries within himself the golden “means” of social extrication. Each can, at will, cancel industrial captivity, if he has self-help in his hands and self-reliance in mind. Independence and betterment of social condition lie that way.

In the early part of the last century industry was one vast mist, often submerged by an obscuring sea of hopelessness. At the close of this century, at least three headlands stand out—Rochdale, Leeds, and Derby Co-operative Societies, each with half a century of durability, and others, as at Hebden Bridge, showing that dry land is appearing where labour may take refuge and live. It is the diffusion of intelligence which has wrought the great change, by making co-operation possible. So long as men thought there was nothing in knowledge, there was no progress. The Derby Society has been fortunate in its members, else it had never attained its present ascendancy. Yet, in every society in the land its committee of management could have done twice as much as they have, had its members been twice as wise as they were. Co-operation is in its infancy. All pioneers are retarded by persons who do not see far before them. A man who thinks he knows everything does not know that all about him know he does not. Such persons forget that, while they may appear wise to those who know less than themselves, and pass for intelligent among those who know no more than themselves, they can never conceal their ignorance from those who are better informed.



EVENING ON THE DERWENT, DERBY.

[By permission of R. Keene, Limited.]

No art can hide poverty of mind, but by means of education every man can enrich himself at will, and every person needs to be rich in knowledge who expects to make his way successfully through the world. The pioneers of Full Street had night-bird eyes, for they foresaw the Albert Street Stores, altogether invisible to compeers of their day.

Who has depicted the value of education to co-operators and others as Huxley has done? Let the reader pause for a moment over his brilliant and burning words.

"Suppose," he says, "that it were perfectly certain that the life and fortune of every one of us would, one day or other, depend upon his winning or losing a game at chess. Don't you think that we should all consider it to be a primary duty to learn at least the names and the moves of the pieces; to have a notion of a gambit, and a keen eye for all the means of giving and getting out of check? Do you not think that we should look with a disapprobation amounting to scorn, upon the father who allowed his son, or the State which allowed its members, to grow up without knowing a pawn from a knight?"

"Yet it is a very plain and elementary truth, that the life, the fortune, and the happiness of every one of us, and, more or less, of those who are connected with us, do depend upon our knowing something of the rules of a game infinitely more difficult than chess. It is a game which has been played for untold ages, every man and woman of us being one of the two players in a game of his or her own. The chess board is the world, the pieces are the phenomena of the universe, the rules of the game are what we call the laws of Nature. The player on the other side is hidden from us. We know that his play is always fair, just, and patient. But also we know, to our cost, that he never overlooks a mistake, or makes the smallest allowance for ignorance. To the man who plays well, the highest stakes are paid, with that sort of overflowing generosity with which the strong shows delight in strength. And one who plays ill is checkmated, without haste, but without remorse."* The education the society is interested in is not only the education of the citizen, important as that is, but the education of the co-operator in the essential principles he professes and endeavours to extend. "A man is ignorant," says Bishop Tenison, "whatever he may know who does not

know that which he ought to know and professes to know." The Derby Society will always have honour for its endeavour to impart this knowledge to its members.

But there is no reason to linger longer over incidents and principles that have intrinsic instruction in them. A writer, like a speaker, should know when to give over. A laboured peroration adds nothing to the force of a speech or the dignity of a narrative, and may efface its impression. John Stuart Mill tells us that "eventually we may, through the co-operative principle, see our way to a change in society, which would combine the freedom and independence of the individual with the moral, intellectual, and economical advantages of aggregate production." Already co-operation, like electricity, has become a new power in the commercial world, irradiating the paths which lead to the commonwealth of co-operative labour—the radiant land of Equity, where Justice is not blind, but seeing and protective.

Co-operation may be likened to the Derwent, which flows noiselessly but unceasingly through the fields of industry, fertilising the banks made bare and barren by arid and impoverishing competition.

Therefore, at this jubilee time we may say in the words (changing only one) of William Morris, who devoted his art, his wealth, his genius, and his poesy to accomplish similar ends of human betterance—

Come then, let us cast off doubting and put by ease and rest,
For the cause alone is worthy till the good days bring the best.
Ah! come, cast off all doubting, for this at least we know,
That the dawn of the day is coming, and forth the banners go.





NOTICE BY COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE IN JULY.

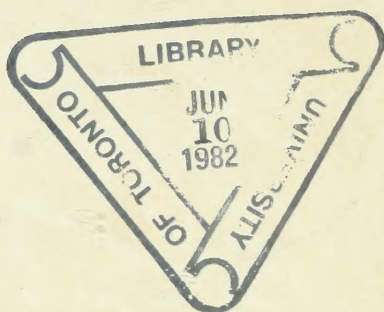
Of the History of the Society, written by Mr. G. J. Holyoake, assisted by Mr. A. Scotton, 14,000 copies are being printed, and 14,000 teapots are being made at Brownfield's Pottery, Stoke-on-Trent, one of which, with a copy of the History, we propose to present to each member.

The Co-operative Wholesale Society have promised to send a large Jubilee Cake, which will be exhibited in one of the shop windows in Albert Street, and afterwards given away.

It is also intended to give the Penny Bank children a treat, during July, and to present each one with a medal.



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